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ABSTRACT

Objectives of the Migrant Research Project, a pilot study funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, were to obtain needed data about the migrant worker population and to develop instruments and research techniques for future studies. Thus, interviews were conducted with over 13,000 migrant families (representing almost 80,000 individuals) and with growers or company representatives, crew leaders, and welfare directors. Additionally, data-gathering instruments were developed and used to obtain information for use by migrant-assistance agencies. Results are included in the 1970 annual report in terms of demographic characteristics of migrants, recent work experience, experience with social agencies, the impact of mechanization, the existing food stamp plan, the proposed Family Assistance Plan, and special studies and action programs. Based upon the 2-year study, the project report also offers conclusions and recommendations about several spheres of activity, including establishment of procedures which will allow public-assistance agencies (1) to meet more equitably the needs of their migrant clientele and (2) to formulate plans to meet the needs of migrant and seasonal workers who will soon be displaced from employment by mechanization. Graphs, tables, and photographs are included. (The 1969 annual report is ED 043 443.) (EL)

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MIGRANT RESEARCH PROJECT

ANNUAL REPORT - 1970

RC005287

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April 1971

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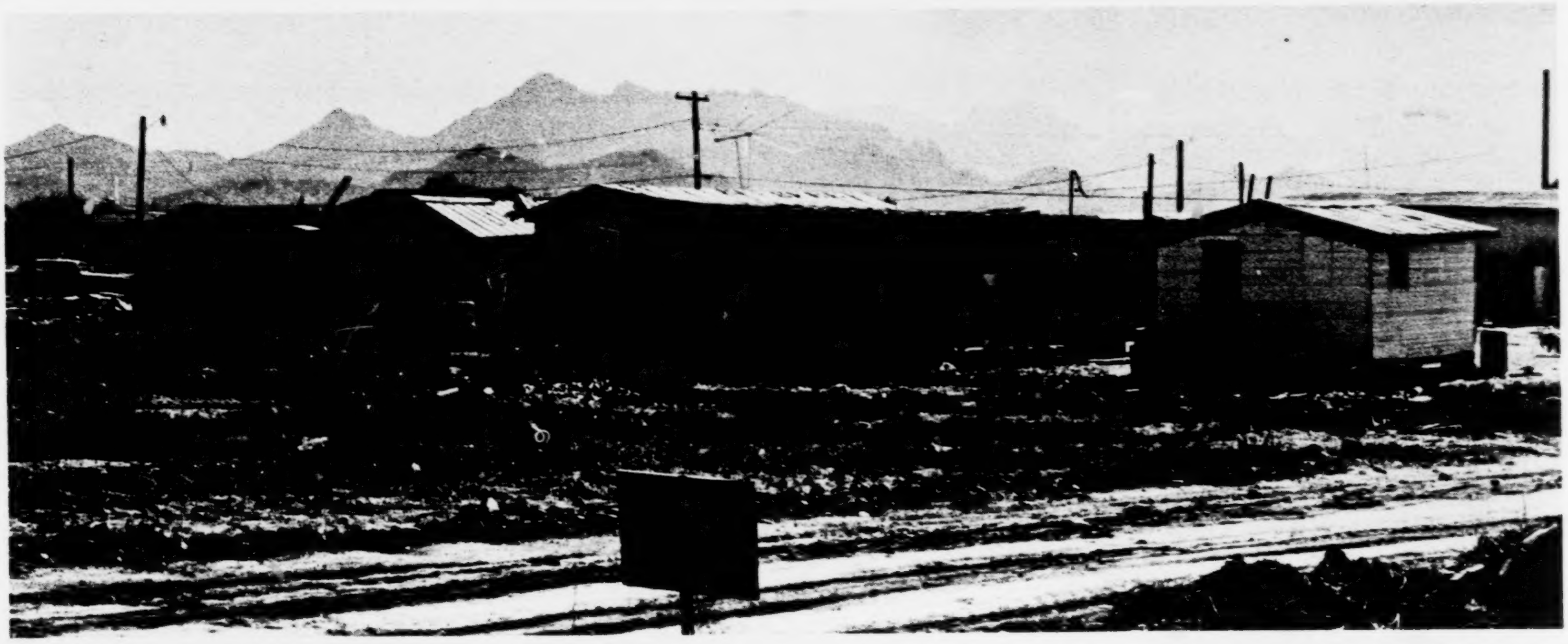


Arizona

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1968, the Migrant Research Project, a division of the Manpower, Evaluation and Development Institute, Inc., Washington, D.C. began a two-year study of the living and working conditions of migrant and seasonal agricultural workers. The research was sponsored and funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, Divisions of Research and Demonstration and Emergency Food and Medical Services.

Incidental to, but an important factor in, the research aspects of the project was provision of emergency food money to the target population; determing the causes of their need for such assistance; relating them to the established public agencies responsible for providing such assistance and determining the presence of discrimination and/or other problems which they faced.

The year 1968-1969 was devoted to surfacing such problems and developing a process of obtaining empirical data about both the problems and the population by means of accepted scientific methodology.

The results of the first year of this effort were subsequently published in the Annual Report of 1969. The report described migrant participation in the food programs of the United States Department of Agriculture; enumerated administrative barriers prohibiting greater participation of the migrant population in these programs and presented special studies in the areas of housing, wages, bonuses and mechanization with its resulting effect on availability of employment. It also presented demographic data based on interviews with 3,000 migrant and seasonal farm worker families representing 20,000 people.

The **Annual Report of 1970** is the result of a study based on personal interviews with approximately 10,000 additional migrant and seasonal farm worker families representing approximately 60,000 individuals, plus interviews with 100 administrative heads of state and local social welfare offices; and approximately 175 interviews with crew-leaders and growers. In addition, special studies were made in cooperation with state education agencies, a state welfare department and church organizations. In other instances MRP worked with grantee agencies to assist in the development of small studies in the area of nutrition and housing.

Dual Methodology Employed

New research instruments were developed in April of 1970 and were used from July through November when the research was completed. The purpose of the new instruments was to obtain information which could be utilized by public and private agencies in developing and implementing programs designed to ameliorate the problems suffered by the target population.

Prior to developing the new tool, 5,082 migrant and seasonal farm worker families consisting of approximately 30,000 individuals were interviewed. Interviews were conducted from October 1969 through June 1970.

This report reflects statistical information obtained from the two methodologies utilized. The reader will note that the information obtained from each method substantiates the other. However, it is important to bear in mind the earlier research reflects information obtained prior to the 1970 peak season when earnings are at their lowest. The later research reflects information obtained at the peak of the 1970 harvest season.

Contribution of U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

All statistics developed during the first year of research were computed manually. Following the issuance of the first report, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, through its Migrant Task Force, made available to the Migrant Research Project computer time and key punch services to ensure a continuation and expansion of this work. This contribution has enabled MRP to establish a data bank from which federal agencies can obtain certain essential information to meet specific needs of various departments of government, and, thus, assist them in more adequate budgeting and programming. In addition, it is possible for individual states and counties to obtain information about migrants who work in their locale.

Based on these new procedures, 4,700 migrant and seasonal farm worker families were interviewed. Of this number, 725 of the interviews were omitted from the current study because the information obtained was inconclusive; the remaining 3,974 interviews were sufficiently complete and free of error to be analyzed.

Of the families interviewed and accepted in the study, 2,971 had applied for and received emergency food assistance; 958 had not applied for such help. Of the total sample, only 45 applied for assistance and were found to be ineligible for the assistance for which they applied.

Mexican-Americans comprised the largest segment of the population with 2,984 families; next were 762 Black families. The remaining 228 families were of Indian, Puerto Rican, Anglo and other ethnic groups.

Combined Study 1968-1970

The complete study represents information obtained from interviews with approximately 13,000 families representing almost 80,000 individuals. It is impossible to determine what percentage of the total migrant population this represents since there is no accurate data on the size of this population.

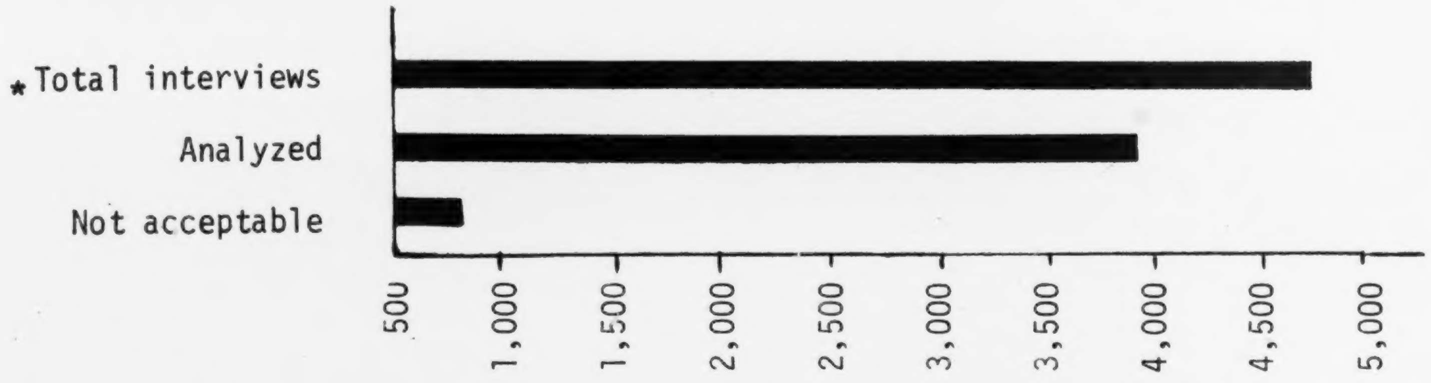
No attempt will be made in this report to restate many of the findings set forth in the 1969 report. These remain valid. Where new trends seem to be developing, these will be brought to the attention of the reader.

The results are subject to errors of response and reporting as well as being subject to sampling variability. Throughout the report, all percentage figures have been rounded and may not equal 100%.[1]

Other MRP Programs

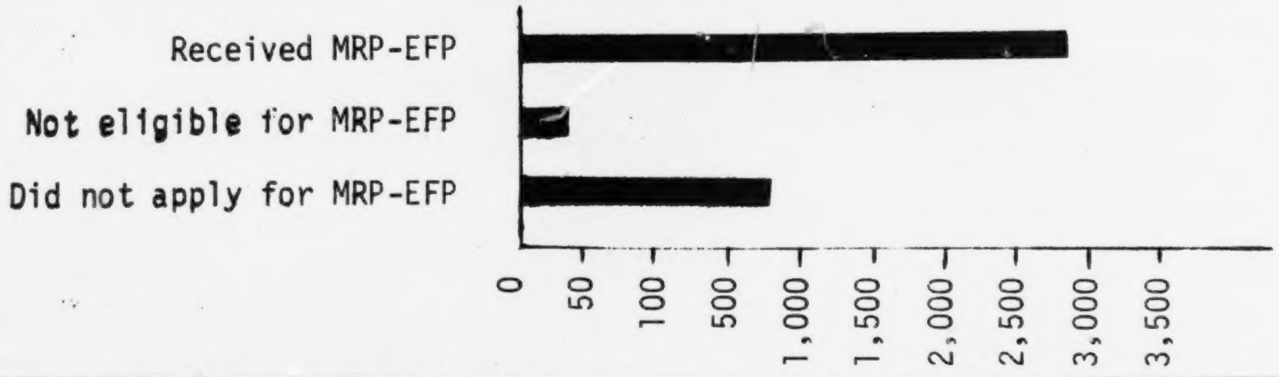
During the past two and one-half years, Migrant Research Project has developed action programs as well as research projects. While most of the action programs bore a direct relationship to the research — either as an integral part or as a result — they deserve special mention in this Annual Report. The report, therefore, has been divided into two major sections. The first section presents the research findings.

The following table shows the number of migrant and seasonal farm worker families interviewed by MRP during the 1970 harvest season:

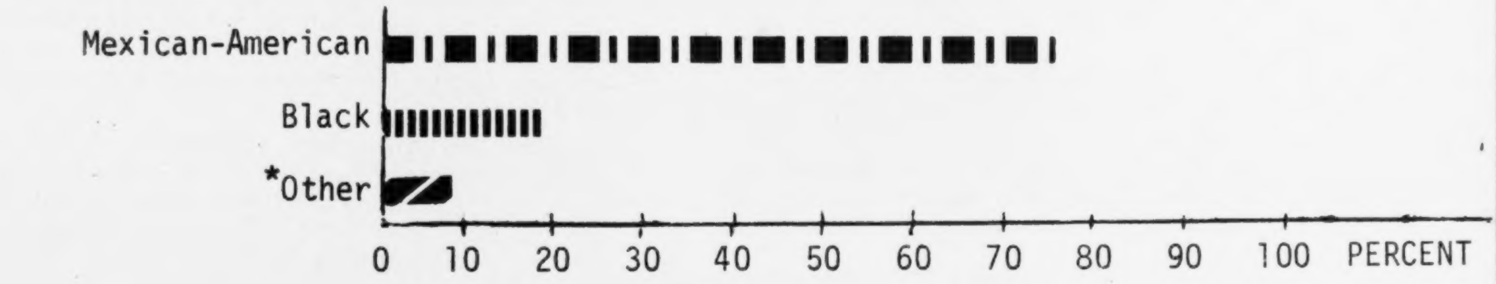


* Interviews conducted between July 1, 1970 and December 31, 1970

Of those questionnaires analyzed the table below indicates the level of family participation in the MRP Emergency Food Program (MRP-EFP):



From the total population, the ethnic background of those interviewed is shown below by percentage:



* Anglo, Puerto Rican, Indian, other

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[1] True of all charts contained in this report.

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

—From CHILD OF HOPE

Both in 1969 and 1970 the Migrant Research Project relied upon migrant oriented or indigenous groups to interview migrant and seasonal farm worker families selected for this study. Each agency cooperating in the study was under contract to MRP either to distribute MRP emergency food money to eligible migrants; or under contract to hire outreach personnel, preferably indigenous, to discover and refer needy migrants to agencies which could provide for their food needs.

Due to MRP budget limitations, no interviewers from any of the contracting agencies were paid by MRP for their work. All migrant interviews were conducted as a voluntary contribution on the part of the contracting agencies listed in the section on Acknowledgments.

Training of these volunteer interviewers for this portion of the study also was the responsibility of the cooperating agencies. MRP conducted a two-day training session in Washington, D. C. in June of 1970. Supervisors of the research and food programs of the cooperating agencies and one additional staff member attended the training session. They, in turn, trained their staff to conduct the interviews. The training session was under the direction of Dr. Frances Cousins, Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan, Dearborn Campus, who contracted with MRP to direct the research. Unfortunately, Dr. Cousins, due to unforeseen additional duties at the University, had to leave the project prior to the writing of the report. However, MRP is most grateful to her for her work in developing the design, methodology, instruments and staff training which enabled the MRP staff to complete the study and carry out her directions.

In 1969, all migrants interviewed for that portion of the study had sought and received Migrant Research Project food assistance. MRP believed the information obtained from this section of the migrant population was true of all migrants. However, to test this hypothesis, MRP's 1970 study was designed to include a portion of the population who did not seek or apply for emergency food assistance. Accordingly, 25% of the population selected for interviews in 1970, had not sought emergency food assistance at the time of the interview. It is interesting to note that only 45 families, or 5%, from this group would not have qualified for such assistance had they applied. Conversely 95% of all who did not make application would have been eligible to receive such assistance had they applied.

Prior to April 1970, the research design initiated in 1969 was continued. The current research was begun on April 1 and continued through December 1970, with the bulk of the interviewing being conducted July through November. During the month of August, 279 families were interviewed who received food assistance and 273 were interviewed who had not received assistance at the time of the interview. Some of these families, because of economic hardship, subsequently sought and received this service.

The 1970 MRP study also sought to determine if there were any appreciable differences in Mexican-American, Black, Anglo, Puerto Rican, Indian or other groups of migrants in demographic characteristics and/or employment patterns. If differences occured, it would be necessary to determine if these were attributable to racial characteristics, cultural background, community attitudes or geographic regions where employment was obtained.

Objectives of the Study

This project was designed as a pilot study, for the dual purpose of obtaining needed data about the migrant worker population and to develop instruments and research techniques for future studies. Included in the data to be collected were the following:

1. demographic characteristics:
    a. composition of households in migrant worker camps and at their permanent residences in the home base states;

   b. age, sex, relationship, and labor force status of family members;
   c. ethnic identification;
   d. amount and sources of income;
2. recent work experience:
   a. agricultural and non-agricultural jobs held by all working members of the family in the last five years;
   b. unemployment: duration, job-seeking experience;
   c. migratory work pattern: number of seasons with current grower, crops worked. types of activity on each crop, pay rates;
   d. recruitment patterns: promises made by grower, which kept;
   e. services provided by grower: which are free and which are paid by migrants;
3. experience with social agencies:
   a. types of assistance applied for and types and amounts received,
   b. reasons given for not being granted assistance;
   c. reception, attitudes, and treatment by agency personnel;
   d. unmet needs: extent, nature, effects on family;
4. impact of mechanization:
   a. changing patterns of work activities and/or jobs eliminated;
   b. changes in hours worked per crop and rates of pay;
5. existing food stamp plan: effectiveness and needed modifications for migrants;
6. proposed Family Assistance Plan: possible and probable impact on migrant families.

Methodology

By means of a structured questionnaire, interviews were conducted with four types of respondents: (a) migrants; (b) growers or company representatives; (c) crew leaders; (d) welfare directors.

At least one interview with a grower and one with a crew leader was conducted at each location where migrants were interviewed. An attempt was made to conduct approximately one thousand interviews with migrants in the residences provided by the grower, usually a unit in a camp. Inasmuch as all but the youngest members of the family work an average of ten hours per day, contact was to be made in the evening or on non-work days. Responses were to be sought from the household head, his wife, or another adult capable of supplying information about the family members.

For ease in establishing rapport and to overcome any language barriers, interviews when advisable were to be conducted by Spanish-speaking individuals, recruited and supervised by a member of the grantee agency staff.

Because this was a pilot study, no attempt was to be made to reach migrants in all states. Within budget limitations and the short time that migrants are in the stream, this would be unrealistic. It was postulated, however, that information collected from a selected number of typical states would permit broader generalizations about this population. During July and August interviews were to be conducted in the following areas: Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, New York, New Jersey, Washington, and portions of Minnesota and Iowa. After the season, another series of interviews were to be administered in Texas and Florida which are the home base states for a great many migrants. Other states were to be added as deemed necessary.

In the sample areas, camp locations were to be selected to represent an adequate distribution on the basis of several variables: (a) major crop(s) in the state; (b) size of farms; (c) small growers and major processing or canning companies; (d) size of camp population and therefore size of work force; (e) time of harvest; (f) varying points in the season, i.e., beginning, peak and end.

It may be assumed that, within each camp, the population resident at any given time is sufficiently homogeneous to preclude the necessity of complex sampling of household units. The number of interviews for each camp and for a state was determined on the basis of the known migrant population at that time. Selecting the families or households to be interviewed within each camp was done in any manner deemed feasible. Certain precautions were observed, however, to avoid introducing any bias. If interviewing adjoining or adjacent units might lead to "contamination," i.e., some respondents learning of the questions to be asked and "preparing" answers prior to the interview, this was avoided by selecting every nth unit until the total allocation was reached. Interviewers were oriented to both the objectives of the present study and approved research techniques. They were usually able to make such decisions on an **ad hoc** basis, particularly in this case where there was easy access to professionals in grantee agencies.

In addition to the interviews, much data was possible from a simplified questionnaire incorporated into the application for food administered by grantee agency staff. There was a serious limitation to using only this source of data which made interviewing essential. Most migrants apply for food stamps before or very soon after they begin working for the grower who recruited them to the area. For this reason, they would be unable to supply the information sought about rates of pay, their activities on each crop, whether the grower had delivered on promises made to them, and income earned on the basis of hours worked. By utilizing both the short questionnaire and the structured interviews, certain basic information was obtained for a larger number of people and further data with greater depth for a smaller group. Together, the instruments permited some generalizations not otherwise possible.

Finally, after the growing and harvesting season, when most migrants returned to their permanent residences in the home base states, another series of interviews would provide additional data about total family income during the season, their experiences with growers, attempts to obtain financial assistance and other social services, and what individual and family problems remained unresolved at that time.

The Problem of Validity

In the process of obtaining empirical data about a problem and/or a population by means of accepted scientific methodology, the investigator is confronted with a major decision which has important implications for the reliability of the results. This decision is whether to attempt to achieve maximum possible depth or greatest possible scope. He can design a study which is narrow in scope and thereby retain strict control over every phase of his project. This type of approach has obvious limitations, however: the sample population must be kept small and the geographic area equally confined. The findings would then preclude any broad generalizations about either a larger population or generic aspects of a problem for the reason that extrapolation beyond a given level becomes statistically insignificant or unreliable.

On the other hand, the researcher can avoid these limitations and most prefer to do so by aiming for broader scope without sacrificing either depth or reliability to an undue extent. This option permits broader and therefore more useful generalizations about the problem(s) and the population under study. But, while eliminating one problem, another arises because of the nature of the survey research process, **per se**.

Survey research involves a number of procedural stages, each usually the responsibility of different individuals. The project director or chief investigator delineates the objectives, may design the instruments, then assumes responsibility for analysis and interpretation of the findings. The crucial process of actually collecting the data is, in most instances, undertaken by a team of interviewers recruited, trained, and supervised by still another group of individuals. With such a multi-phased process, the project director cannot maintain close scrutiny over the interviewing unless the study is being conducted in a single community. In national studies, where interviewing is being conducted simultaneously in many localities, field supervisors must assume the role and responsibility of micro-project directors in their respective areas. It becomes apparent, therefore, that the supervisors' level of understanding and commitment to the study and their confidence in the value and relevance of its objectives are essential for successful data collection.

In the present study of migrants, crew leaders, and growers/canners/processors, twenty states and dozens of local communities are included. Two factors have contributed additional problems not normally encountered: (1) because of budget and staff limitations, it was necessary that supervisors of grantee agencies supervise the interviewing. This had to be done while the migrants were present in the agency's service area and therefore at the very time that their workload was at its peak. Thus, two imperatives were imposed on them concurrently — ministering to the emergency needs of migrant families and supervising the interviews of the sample allocated to each agency, (2) inasmuch as many Mexican-Americans are not sufficiently fluent in English, it was necessary to use Spanish-speaking interviewers. As any experienced fieldwork supervisor knows, it is difficult enough to locate competent and reliable interviewers; to find those both competent and bilingual is to increase the magnitude of the difficulty.

In every study, no matter what its objectives and the problems encountered, there are still the twin problems of validity and reliability — significant assurance that the data collected are reliable and that the same or a similar study of the same population by other investigators would, in probability, produce the same findings. In order to determine reliability, someone in charge may conduct spot checks by selecting a random sample of those already interviewed and asking the same questions again in order to compare both sets of responses. In a local study, this can be and often is accomplished on the telephone; in larger studies, by a second visit to the respondent.

As in many other respects, this study has had unique problems resulting from the migratory nature of the population. When respondents are in location for brief intervals and then move on to work in other areas, a validity check would need to be conducted almost immediately after the first interview or the opportunity for doing so is no longer present. Aside from the recurrent problems of inadequate budget and staff already alluded to, there is the very serious handicap of limited accessibility to the respondents. Migrants live in housing provided by the grower or company employing them. Their dwelling units are on private property; therefore access can be gained only at the pleasure of the employer. Typically, growers are resistant to investigations inasmuch as so many are conducted by government representatives examining suitability of living arrangements, adequacy of sanitation, etc. Obtaining approval from these employers to interview their workers requires the most adroit and skillful persuassion; to do so on more than one occasion becomes highly unrealistic. Usual types of validity checks would not serve to enhance the reliability of the data obtained simply because no amount of re-interviewing will make the average migrant less fearful of those who decide their destiny.

Validity Check Through Adult Education Programs

Migrant Research Project then devised a different reliability check to determine whether a newly designed instrument requesting the same information but administrated in a controlled situation would reveal similar information. Allowances would be made for income deviations due to the fact that the group would have completed their agricultural work year. The Office of Economic Opportunity advanced supplemental funding for this additional portion of the study to interview migrants remaining in the northern states and attending OEO sponsored stipended adult education programs and so to settle out of the migrant stream.

The validation also had an additional dimension which added considerable strength to the current research for for the following reasons:

1. Migrants were interviewed immediately following their peak earning season and responded better to questions related to annual earnings, bonuses, days worked, number of family members who worked, and the costs related to job expense.
2. Information could be learned from the migrants about the jobs from which they personally had been displaced in the last three years due to mechanization and the use of pesticides and/or herbicides; the geographic areas where these processes are eliminating jobs most rapidly; and the number of states to which the migrants traveled looking for work, finding work, not finding work, the length of time on each job, etc. Because of the mobile nature of the population, migrants themselves represented the only immediate source of the desired information. Thus, by obtaining the information immediately following the harvest season from the workers, additional time required by the Employment Security Commission to gather, analyze and disseminate the information from the states might be saved.
3. The computerizing of the summer research allowed duplicates to be identified since respondents were identified by social security numbers. Thus the computer would be able to compare responses of those migrants who were interviewed more than one time and/or in more than one area and compare the responses. Information could be revalidated with little additional time or expense.

4. The structure of grantees' own programs demands that migrant agencies recruit for adult education program from among the population with whom they have the most summer contact. Thus the proposed additional MRP winter research would show a substantial number of migrants being interviewed for a second time.

Executing a questionnaire under the more controlled atmosphere of a formal classroom situation, and at a time when the pressures of the harvest are no longer foremost in the migrant workers' thought, made it possible to get more comprehensive data for comparative purposes.

The questionnaire was executed in cooperation with and under the auspices of the directors of MRP contract agencies in those areas and states where the summer research was conducted. However, it was limited to those areas and states where migrant adult education programs were conducted by the grantee. The interview was administered by teachers in the migrant adult education programs under the on-site supervision of an MRP staff person.

The questionnaire was also used, where possible, to evaluate the effects of emergency food money distributed by a number of grantees throughout the nation — our own as well as others. It was possible to verify such factors as: (1) Did the migrant actually receive cash and/or vouchers for food? (2) To what extent were migrants able to use food money to purchase food stamps? (3) Did the emergency food service given actually take care of the family nutritional needs?, etc.

Another purpose of such a questionnaire was to ascertain what motivational forces combine to interest the migrant in attending northern stream-state stipended adult education classes rather than returning to his home state. Did he enroll in an adult educational program because he wanted to settle out of the stream? Did he want to remain away from his home state because he felt there was no employment available? Is attending school an alternative method for feeding his family during the winter?

Also important and of primary significance as an extension of MRP's research effort was verification of social, demographic and attitudinal characteristics of migrants in other than a work situation or during periods of unemployment in their home state. A positive coorelation of such characteristics had the effect of further defining the profile of the typical migrant and seasonal farm worker. Such further refinement of the social and cultural characteristics of this minority group provided valuable insights into further sophistication of adult educational programs. Such programs are designed to re-educate and re-train migrants who have been displaced by mechanization in new vocations.

Finally, and of prime importance, the questionnaire was able to ferret out some of the real concerns and dangers that mechanization is bringing about as it threatens the livelihood of the migrant farm worker.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to gather the following data for use in providing further reliable information concerning the migrants' attitudes, hopes, desires and concerns as he participates and plays his role in the American society.

1. A hindsight view of what happened in the 1970 harvest season such as:
   a. effect of displacement of migrants by further mechanization and what type of new mechanization was observed;
   b. recruitment procedures by crew leaders, growers, grower association, state employment agencies, Department of Labor, private recruitment, etc;
   c. were bonuses paid by growers-processors at end of season;
   d. were the promises of benefits, i.e., transportation, housing, credit, etc. kept?
2. Social and demographic characteristics to ascertain the type of migrant worker who enrolls in adult educational programs. (Age, no. of children, ethnic origin, etc.)
3. Annual income figures while in the home state, during the harvest season and while attending adult educational classes; net income available after expenses.
4. Assistance requested and/or received or denied from local welfare agencies while in home state, during the harvest season while in the stream, and while attending adult education classes in stream states.
5. Emergency food money received while in home state, during harvesting while in the stream, and while attending adult education classes.

PROFILE OF A MIGRANT*

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTIC	MIGRANT FAMILIES TOTAL RESEARCH SAMPLE (3,974)				MIGRANT FAMILIES RECEIVING MRP EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE (2,971)		
	Mex.Am.	Black	Other	Av.	Mex.Am.	Black	Other
1. Average Annual Income 1970	$2130	$1448	$1888	$2021	$2071	$1427	$1851
Average Wage: July 1970							
Average Wage: Aug. 1970							
$0 - $1,000	$ 639 - 19%	$ 602 - 43%	$ 587 - 23%	$ 626 - 22%	$ 641 - 19%	$ 643 - 47%	$ 593 - 2
$1,001 - $2,000	1503 - 31	1474 - 26	1499 - 39	1499 - 31	1484 - 31	1451 - 21	1452 - 4
$2,001 - $3,000	2370 - 25	2378 - 25	2384 - 18	2372 - 25	2365 - 26	2373 - 25	2392 - 1
$3,001 - $4,000	3317 - 16	3300 - 05	3336 - 12	3316 - 14	3303 - 16	3314 - 06	3324 - 1
$4,001 - $5,000	4282 - 06	4167 - 01	4114 - 03	4273 - 05	4270 - 06	4180 - 01	4100 - 0
2. Average Size of Families	6.4	5.5	4.2	6.4	6.5	6.2	4.6
3. Average Number Workers per Family	2.3	2	2	2.3			
4. Average Age of Families	17.4	15.3	19.0	16.9	17.2	14.8	16.7

*Based on 3974 interviews conducted from July 1 through November 30, 1970 and 513 questionnaires administered to Adult Education students.

6. Eligibility to participate in food stamps and commodity programs while in home state, while working during harvest in the stream and while attending adult education classes.
7. Motivational factors which played a role in applying for attendance to adult educational program: What courses being studied; what changes in life expectations are desired as a result of training.

Implications of the Difficulty of Validity

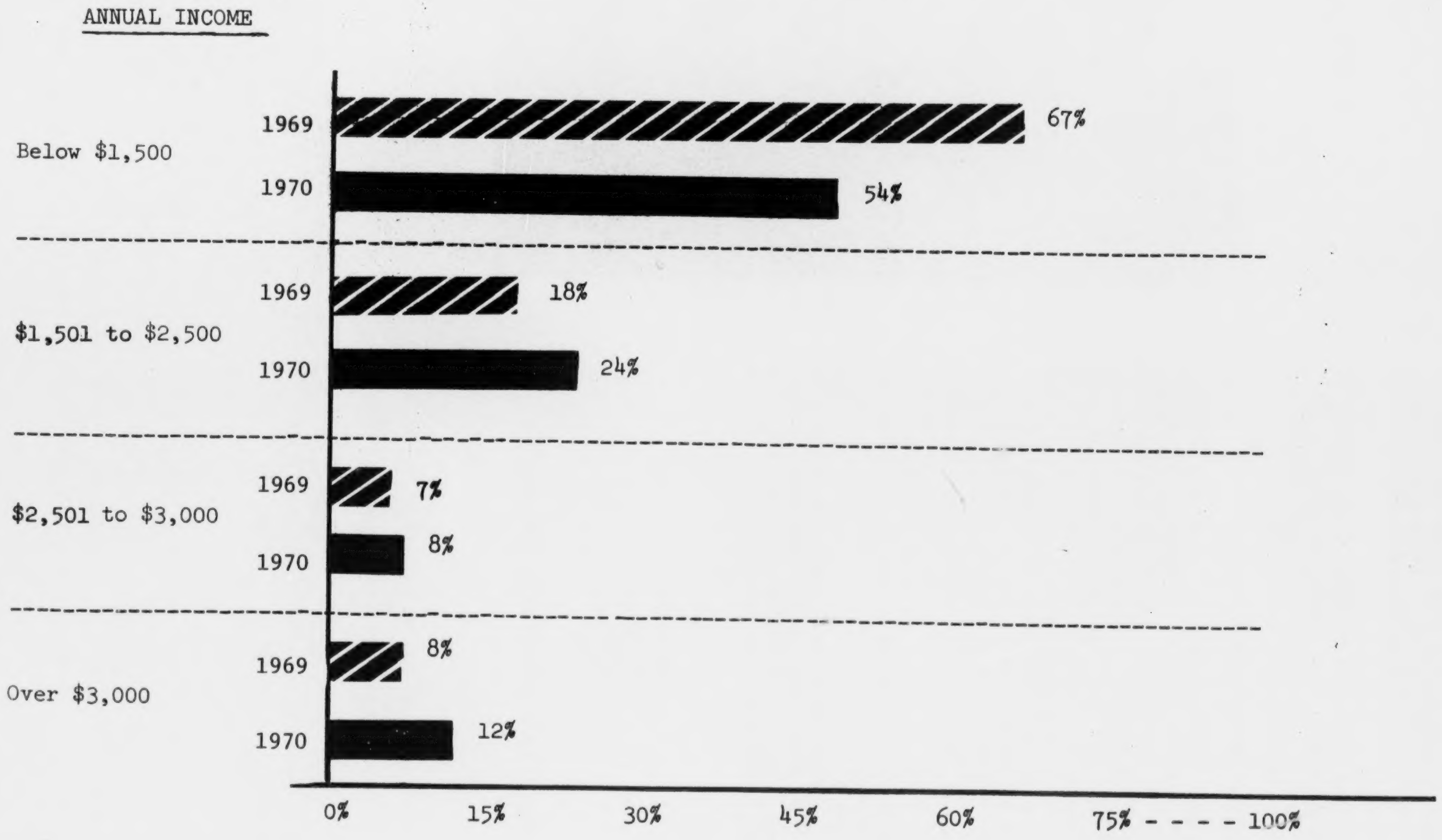
It becomes relatively clear that the entire problem of reliability assumes different connotations and greater magnitude for the migrant population than for any representative group and even moreso than for an equally disadvantaged urban population. Moreover, the very difficulties of validation raise substantive questions of much greater moment than that of methodological accuracy. If we experienced problems of validity in this study, then it is highly likely that other studies of migrants have encountered similar problems. This may account for the dearth of empirical data in the existing literature and may also permit one to raise some penetrating questions about the factual basis for the variety of public and private programs presently in existence to ameliorate the problems of migrants. In brief, if diagnosis of these problems is as difficult as our experience leads us to believe, on what rationale does productive planning for positive change rest?

If the present project has accomplished nothing else, it has been able to test varying methods of obtaining data about migrants and to demonstrate which of these methods has the best prognosis for effective research.

MIGRANT RESEARCH PROJECT

	MIGRANT FAMILIES NOT RECEIVING MRP EMERGENCY FOOD ALLOWANCE (1,003)				MIGRANTS IN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS (513)			
Av.	Mex.Am.	Black	Other	Av.	Mex.Am.	Black*	Other	Av.
$1971	$2323	$1518	$1972	$2180	$2336			$2336
					$ 372		$ 385	$ 373
					$ 376		396	378
$ 632 - 23%	$ 597 - 16%	$ 611 - 30%	$ 569 - 27%	$ 598 - 19%	$ 711 - 19%		$ 475 - 14%	$ 674 - 19%
1481 - 30	1571 - 30	1508 - 43	1555 - 37	1558 - 32	1592 - 35		1690 - 34	1600 - 35
2368 - 25	2519 - 24	2398 - 23	2378 - 15	2389 - 23	2619 - 20		2875 - 28	2644 - 23
3304 - 15	3362 - 17	3225 - 03	3380 - 08	3358 - 15	3646 - 11		3460 - 17	3624 - 12
4261 - 05	4320 - 07	4100 - 01	4133 - 05	4302 - 06	4668 - 07			4668 - 06
7.0	5.8	3.9	3.1	5.2	4.4		3.9	4.2
16.5	18.3	17.8	19.1	18.0	19.4		19.0	19.2

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME OF THOSE RECEIVING MRP EMERGENCY FOOD MONEY 1969-1970



CONCLUSIONS

Based upon the two year study just completed, the Migrant Research Project believes it has the competency to offer conclusions and some recommendations about several spheres of activity. These include the revision or establishment of procedures which will allow public assistance agencies to meet more equitably the needs of their clientele, and outline specific short-range and long-range programs to meet the needs of vast numbers of migrant and seasonal agricultural workers who currently are, or soon will be displaced from their employment.

Better methods of measuring the results and effectiveness of all programs should be developed and government should be accountable for measuring its accomplishments in this field.

Long-Range Programs

MRP has concluded that no atempt to serve the economic needs of migrant farm workers, no matter how well intentioned, can be successful as long as they are treated as a group separate from the total economy.

Programs developed at this time to assist the displaced rural workers may well become the pattern to be followed in the future for the displaced urban worker. Technological improvement, whether agricultural or industrial, will not, nor should it be, deterred.

The problem facing the nation today is to effectively utilize all available resources to discover, develop and implement methods through which the human entity can be elevated to the same high potential as has been achieved for the machine.

The Migrant Research Project has observed innumberable programs which have either been established for migrants in the past few years or which should serve migrants as part of their over-all responsibility. Each program observed seems to possess many good qualities. The majority however, singly, or collectively appear to lack the thrust necessary to accomplish the over-all goal of alleviating the poverty of farm workers. Of necessity, this will be true until the activities of all—government and the private sector—coalesce their efforts to stem the decay of the rural areas of the country. Only then will the poverty of the farm worker be solved.

Until national plans for achieving this goal are realistically defined, agreed upon and undertaken, certain definite short-term plans specifically related to migrant farm workers should be undertaken.

The reorganization of government as proposed by the current administration is a step in the right direction. The history of the Department of Agriculture places too great an emphasis on agribusiness, to the neglect of the small family farm. Large commercial farming operations and advancing technology have effectively controlled federal farm policy through the administration of USDA and through the agriculture committees of the U.S. Congress.

The people in rural areas, including the migrant and seasonal farm workers, have been ignored. Certainly they have not benefited from the vast sums spent by USDA to bring about the technological revolution or the price-support programs. It is important that any reorganization of government segregate the commercial agricultural programs from programs designed to assist neglected humans. For so long as their destiny is subject to control by big farm interests, there will be no destiny for them at all.

Short-term Programs—Home-base States

1) State Employment Services, through the interstate recruitment system, have a history of recruiting farm workers in numbers determined by gowers/canners/processors. In previous years this was a reasonable method for the employment services to follow. However, MRP has discovered that with the advent of mechanical harvesters too frequently employers request workers as back-up to new and unproven machines.

The Employment Services therefore must; (a) inaugurate new procedures of recruitment which will realistically appraise the job market in user areas, (b) recruit only the minimum of workers to perform available jobs, and (c) through home-base state offices notify workers not to come into areas where work will not be available. (Notification given by radio announcement only over English-speaking stations in urban areas will not meet this purpose.)

2) HEW, OEO, and other government agencies with funds for adult education and training must reconsider their priorities to allow home base states, which offer limited adult education programs during the winter months only, to receive sufficient funds to allow expansion and extension of programs to serve more people in year-round education.

3) Cooperation between all of the agencies currently engaged in education must bring about a merging of goals and funds and establish priorities for those programs which would incorporate: (a) programs for economic development of the area, including housing; (b) work programs where necessary and (c) public career jobs, redefined to enable target population members to maintain their cultural values and identity after employment. If such cooperation cannot be achieved under the present structure, Congress must develop a plan for the reorganization of government. Some states presently are successfully inaugurating such reorganizations.

4) Education programs for migrant children should be reappraised and redesigned to provide a background of information and experience enabling them to adjust to a life-style which for them will undergo immediate and dramatic change as mechanization closes the chapter on migrancy and opens the door to an uncertain future.

Short-term Program—Stream States

MRP believes that unemployment of farm workers in the stream states during the 1971 season will equal or surpass that of the 1970 and the 1969 season. Emergency methods employed in the past two years to provide food to the unemployed met with reasonable success primarily because of the availability of OEO Emergency Food and Medical Services funds. Had these funds not been available, it would be difficult to even comprehend the suffering the farm worker families would have endured. Food Stamp and Commodity Distribution offices were unable then, as they will be this year, to meet food needs of migrants because of the present administrative guidelines of the programs. The preponderence of paper work involved in just providing food to large numbers of migrants displaced from the fields both by weather and by machines will once again deluge the already overburdened staff of the local welfare offices. If the families need any other type of assistance on an emergency basis, there will be little chance for the agency to respond to this need. The administrative costs of processing the necessary papers to provide assistance, the time involved in processing them and the cumbersome eligibility requirements and checks make the programs inaccessible to vast numbers of needy migrants. A new method of handling these applications could be developed. MRP suggests:

1) Establishment of a uniform, annual certification procedure to allow eligible migrants and seasonal workers full participation in programs which have income as a basis of eligiblity i.e. food stamps, commodities, A.F.D.C., O.A.A. etc. and currently proposed plans such as Family Assistance.

2) Efforts should be undertaken to ensure that in every county in which a migrant or seasonal farm worker travels, a food program will be available during special hours. Additional staff should be available in welfare offices during the season of high influx. States not participating in Title IV programs of the Social Security Act should pass the necessary legislation to enable them to provide this emergency assistance to migrant and seasonal farm workers.

3) Migrant adult education programs in stream states habitually are held after the harvest season for a short period of time. MRP believes that such programs, because of their short duration, should be reevaluated to determine how many times students have enrolled in such programs merely to eke out a winter existence, and returned to agricultural work in the stream the following year. The evaluation should also determine how many former students have been placed in, and held, non-agricultural jobs for one, two, three or more years. If the turn-over rate in jobs is excessive then consideration should be given to reprogramming the classes. Classes in the stream states could be developed into preparatory classes for entrance into the long-range full term education programs in the home base states, discussed earlier. Such classes should be held during the harvest season when workers are unemployed.

4) Government has a responsibility to extend social services to migrants as well as residents.

A need exists to educate personnel in welfare offices to understand the culture and economy of migrant and seasonal farm workers. An even greater need exists to train indigenous outreach workers to effectively participate as paraprofessionals in the administration of public agency programs. Well-trained para-professional aides will be immensely important at all levels if the "settling out" and educational programs are to be successful.

Public Assistance Programs—Necessary Revisions

1) Within government, public financial assistance and social service functions should be assigned agencies in such a way as to eliminate duplication in functions and simplify delivery of services.

2) Money grant programs should be replaced by a nationwide program of assistance for families and children which includes all families whose income is below the level of need determined for the program. This program should be so structured that the family receives a total government payment from one agency. The purpose of lodging all money payments into one distribution agency is to eliminate the duplication in administrative and audit procedures currently in effect. For example, it is now possible for members of a household to receive money payments from many divisions in several departments of government i. e. Aid For Dependent Children, Social Security, Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Veteran's benefits.

Federal, state, and county offices are swamped with the record-keeping requirements for each program. The duplication in the varied fiscal requirements is both extensive and costly.

MRP recommends the elimination of such duplication and the reduction of the administrative costs by merging money grant programs into one division.

3) Manpower development and training programs should not be the responsibility of welfare agencies but should be available and coordinated not only with welfare agencies but assure economic development and housing in those areas where training is given.

4) Secretary of HEW should establish basic standards of quality as a condition of federal participation in programs. Clearer methods of accountability and measuring results and effectiveness of social service programs should be developed. Cost/benefit criteria should be a part of this evaluation. Project grants might be given to client groups and private firms to monitor and evaluate delivery of social services.

5) For so long as county governments continue to administer welfare programs financied wholly or in part by federal or state funds, an adjustment in the cost sharing formula is essential. The county's share should be based on an equalized assessed value of the county's taxable real property to ensure that poor counties are not denied equal opportunity to participate in programs such as the Food Stamp Program. The presence of large numbers of poor persons living in a county ensures the county will be poor. The people making their home in these counties are most in need of food programs. These counties do not have sufficient money to meet their share of federally imposed costs. MRP recommends that the federal government develop a new cost-sharing program to assist such counties feed their poor.

6) The United States Department of Agriculture has a responsibility through its research and statistical reporting branches to ensure food programs are available to migrant workers when necessary **immediately** upon entry into an area on an emergency no-income basis, until a national certification program is in effect.

7) Federal and state audits should be compatible and defined cooperatively between the three levels of government. The federal and state governments should share with the counties in the risks of administration. Audits should be clearly defined as to their scope and purposes. Contradictory guidelines for federal programs should not be given by program analysts and auditors of the federal agencies implementing programs. Audits should adhere to guidelines used by federal program personnel giving assistance in setting up programs.

8) Duplications between fiscal and statistical reporting should be eliminated. Reports should be simplified and timely feedback of information assured.

9) Persons receiving public assistance and/or social services should have the **same** protection regarding privacy as any other person receiving income from private sources.

10) Recipients who are denied participation in public assistance programs should have the right of appeal to a board composed of **recipients as well as state and county welfare officials** to ensure a non-prejudiced decision.

RECOMENDATIONS

MRP, having considered the background of our existing welfare programs, along with current major problems recognizes the need for a major overhaul in the structure of the departments of the federal government. The present administration has proposed that the United States Congress consider methods to accomplish major revisions. What the ultimate decision will be remains for the future to decide. Certainly this represents a long term proposal which requires clear cut objectives and careful and meticulous planning.

It was not within the scope of the MRP project to develop detailed methods of alleviating some of the problems discussed in the pages of this report. Indeed, many of them cannot easily be solved until the major revisions called for have been accomplished.

It is important however that immediate steps be taken by the federal government to alleviate the problems of hunger which plague the migrants and seasonal farm workers who thus far have been eliminated from full participation in food programs.

MRP does not believe that the elimination of migrants from food programs has been due to discrimination, but rather is caused by the peculiar lifestyle that is the basis of the migrants' economic life. He cannot fit into structures designed to serve a resident, and primarily urban population.

As a result of the two years of research and study reported and analyzed in the following pages of this report, MRP believes the following steps can be taken within the existing public welfare structure and should be done during the interim period when major revisions are taking place.

Vouchering of Food Stamps

One of the major frustrations reported to MRP by migrants, public welfare officials, and migrant agencies is the difficulty involved in making the purchase of food stamps available to migrants. Offices must be open during hours when migrants are not in the fields. Usually, this means having office hours at nights and/or weekends. Some public welfare officials have expressed their willingness to establish such additional hours. Because of budget and staff limitations this can be done in many areas only by having the staff work split shifts. In a relatively large office this presents no major problem. However, in offices consisting of only one professional and one clerical worker, it becomes impossible.

However additional hours to serve migrants do not necessarily ensure that food stamps can be readily purchased on an emergency basis. Frequently the late or weekend hours can be used for application and certification but not for the sale of stamps. One reason for this is that the regulations to safeguard food stamps during storage and transportation are strict. Since the monetary value of the stamps is great, this is necessarily so. Many county offices in rural areas cannot afford to install the USDA approved fire-proof vaults for storage. Therefore, they rent bank facilities and must adhere to banking hours. Theft insurance rates for stamps not properly stored are exhorbitant, and the bank depository is the only feasible method available to small county offices.

To solve these problems MRP suggests that USDA change regulations to allow county welfare offices to issue vouchers to beneficiaries redeemable at retail outlets for the purchase of foodstuffs. This could be done in the following manner:

1) Eligibility and purchase price of the stamps would be determined by welfare employees.

2) The applicant would be issued a voucher in the dollar amount of the value of the stamps for which he was eligible. The voucher would be made out to the retail food outlet designated by the applicant. The welfare official and the migrant would both sign the voucher. The migrant's signature would act as his identification at the time of food purchase.

3) The migrant would then submit the voucher to the retail outlet for the purchase of food. He could make one purchase for the total designated amount or purchase a lesser amount and receive credit for the unused amount.

4) When the entire amount of authorized food stamp purchase is expended the migrant signs the receipt portion of the voucher which is then returned to the welfare office for audit and payment.

5) The welfare office would then issue a credit slip to the retail outlet for food stamps equal to the dollar value of the voucher. This could be redeemed for cash by the grocer at the bank where stamps are stored. The food stamps in this instance would act as a guarantor of the vouchers.

It would be unnecessary for the actual stamps to leave the bank at any time when this method is employed. The high cost of insurance for small counties would be eliminated. More importantly, hungry migrants could receive vouchers to purchase food at times of emergency—usually during non-banking hours.

For auditing purposes the welfare department could account for the value of stamps transferred to them by USDA and deposited in the bank, by computing the total value of vouchers issued, those redeemed, and the value of stamps deposited in the bank remaining uncommitted.

National Certification

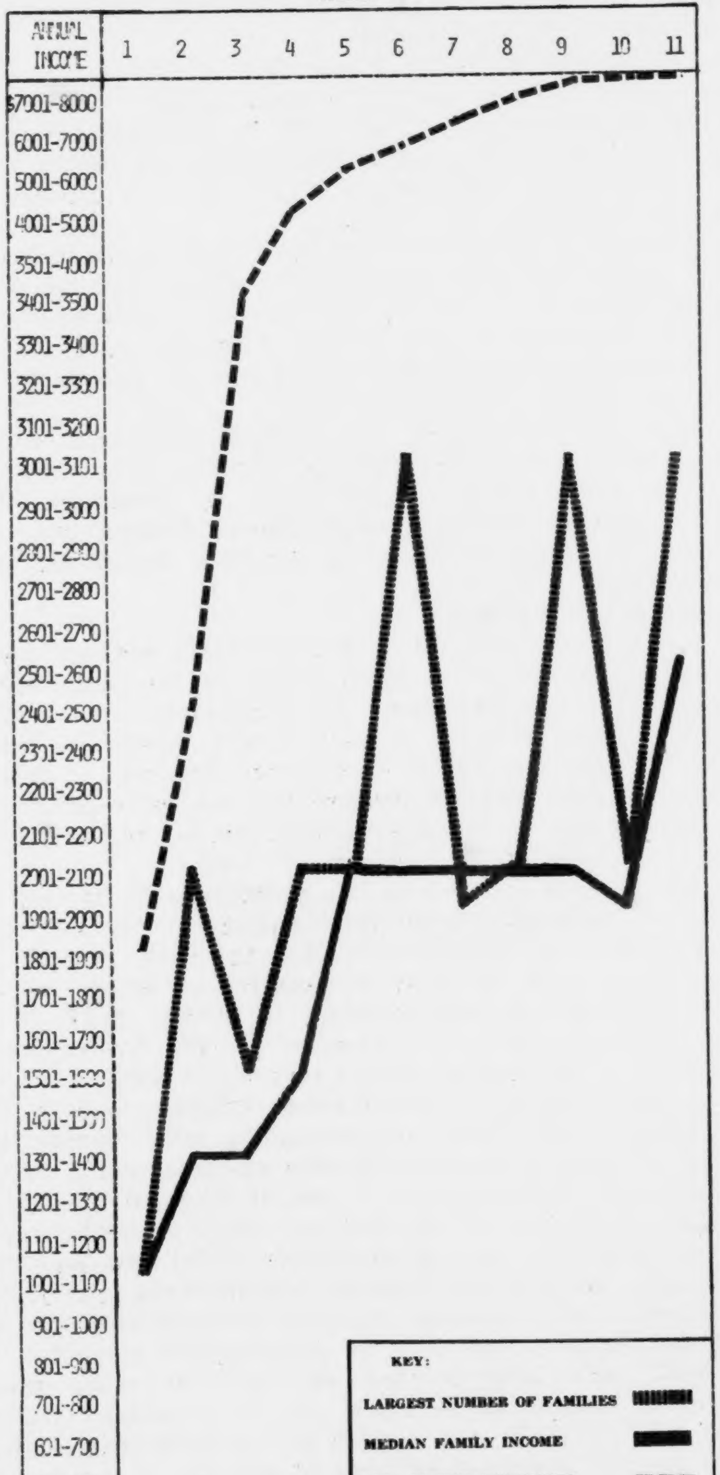
A recurring deterrent to migrant farm workers' participation in either the Food Stamp or the Commodity Distribution food program is the requirement that applications must be made in each county where the need for such services arise. This report discusses in detail these barriers and the concern the current regulations cause not only to the target population, but to the public administrators of the programs as well.

The obvious solution to the problem is to develop a plan of national, annual certification for the migrant farm worker which will enable him to receive immediate service in time of need irrespective of where he is travelling, temporarily residing or living. MRP first proposed an annual certification process for migrant workers in the Annual Report of 1969. A year of study and discussion with various public officials leads MRP to believe that USDA officials, along with representatives of other public and private agencies would overwhelmingly endorse such a plan if it could meet the legal restrictions of the Act and be less cumbersome than the current plan to administer. Until now, no such proposal has been forthcoming. The methods previously advocated have been as complex, cumbersome, and as administratively expensive as the plan now operative.

MRP now believes that an approach other than national annual certification can be developed which (1) will result in a reduction of administrative costs; (2) provide a prompt delivery of services to the target population, and (3) be accomplished in an equitable way while at the same time not allowing abuses of the program.

The formula MRP is recommending is based on family size as measured against probable income, statistically determined for peak earning months, no income months, and low income months. The new formula could be utilized at all county levels by local administrators, if USDA would incorporate the formula into its regulations. MRP is in the process of finalizing this formula for presentation to USDA for their consideration. Hopefully, it can be accepted as meeting the legislative requirements of the Act, and as a feasible and workable plan.

In developing the formula, MRP compared by family size, monthly and annual income figures of migrant workers as determined by MRP research, with the maximum allowable income for purchasing of food stamps. Chart A below depicts the earnings of the 4,000 families in this study by family size and shows (1) the median annual income; (2) the income bracket into which the largest number of families fell, and (3) the maximum annualized income allowable for the purchase of food stamps.



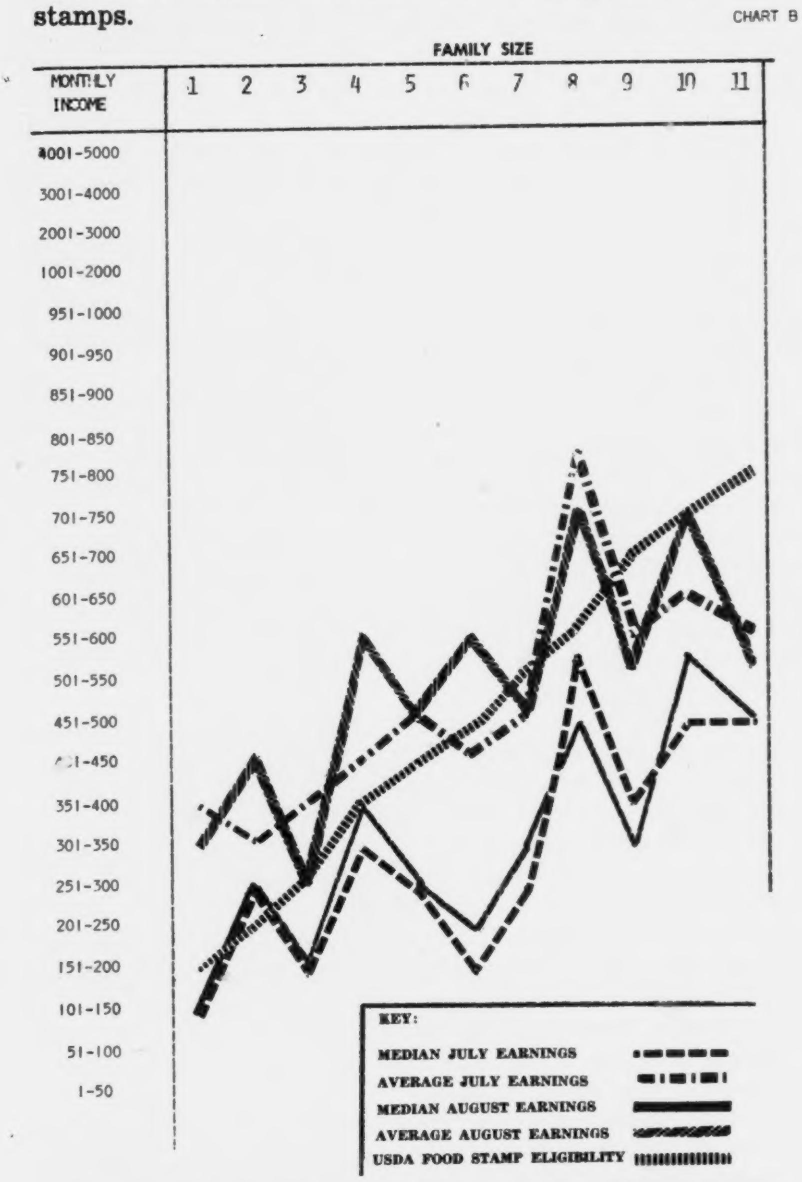


Chart B depicts the earnings of the 513 family control group by family size as to (1) the median income for July 1970; (2) the median income for August 1970; (3) the average income for July 1970; (4) the average income for August 1970; and (5) the maximum income allowable to purchase food stamps on a monthly basis. It should be noted that during the month of August when migrants earn the largest percentage of their annual income, MRP interviewed 279 families who needed and received emergency food assistance and 273 who did not—almost an even split.

In chart A it is seen that all families, other than the one-member family, has a median annual income below that which disqualifies a person for food stamps. The same is true of the income bracket into which the largest number of families fell.

Chart B shows that the median income for all families, except the two member family was less than the maximum allowed for the purchase of food stamps. However, the average income earned in July would exclude all but the six, seven, nine, ten and eleven member households. This also is true in August except that the three member family could qualify during this month.

In vewing these charts it is important to remember that the peak earning months for migrant workers are July and August. Therefore it can be assumed that if

50% of migrants in the stream are eligible for food stamp purchase during the months of July and August, and from 27% to 48% of the annual income is earned during these two months as MRP research shows, then the vast majority of migrants would be eligible for food stamp purchases the remainder of the year.

Prognosis for Effective Research

MPR believes the methodology designed by this project to reach and interview migrants in the field is effective. Suggestions for additional survey research among this mobile population would stress the need for direct employment by the research project of all staff—or more direct supervision of field staff. It is doubtful that MRP or any other research organization could rely as heavily on volunteers as MRP did in this two year study. In addition were the interviewers paid for their work, the research would assume highest priority and not have to be related to other job assignments.

On the other hand, interviewers selected would have to have access to and the confidence of the migrants surveyed. The volunteer interviewers who collected the information for this study were employees of agencies working with the migrant population and had already established an interpersonal relationship with the respondent group. They, therefore, were able to overcome the fear of most of the respondents that (1) either their answers would be used to further exploit the workers, or (2) the study was performed solely to enhance the reputation of the interviewer.

MRP does not have an exact count as to the number of migrants or former migrants who acted as interviewers. However, analysis of the returns shows no appreciable variation in the accuracy or completeness of the responses. MRP therefore concludes that target population members can be effectively utilized as interviewers. However, MRP would suggest more intensive training for all interviewers.

One handicap suffered in this study was the time lag involved in receiving the reports from the field. Had reports been received more rapidly some adjustments could have been made in the research tool which possibly would have increased the number of responses to specific questions.

Validity checks were not as difficult to obtain as originally anticipated. The responses to questions of the 3% who were re-interviewed indicated no appreciable difference in information received from respondents who were interviewed more than one time and in more than one geographic area. This was true whether the second response was elicited in the controlled class room situation of the adult education students, or in the field when the respondent sought additional food services.

MRP interviews were designed to reach migrants of various ethnic groups working in all parts of the country who received MRP emergency food assistance and who did not; who had jobs promised before leaving home and who did not; who entered adult education programs and who did not; who had their families accompany them into the stream and who did not. Information from the respondents show an amazing sameness in all social, economic, and demographic characteristics. MRP concludes that the information gained from this study is sufficiently valid to make generalizations about all migrants. In addition it can be used as the basis for sound program planning by public and private agencies. The methodology developed, as modified, can and should be used by other agencies attempting similar survey research among a mobile population.

MIGRANT RESEARCH PROJECT

PART I - THE STUDY

CHAPTER I - MIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC WELFARE

There is little doubt that most persons in this country enjoy unprecedented opportunities to share in its affluence. There is also little doubt that millions of others do not. As a people we subscribe to the ideal of equal opportunity for all. What happens between ideal and reality?

Migrant Research Project had observed a significant contrast between the democratic ideal of equality of opportunity for each person and the facts about the actual extent of such opportunity. Research was undertaken to gather accurate statistics to document the extent to which migrant and seasonal farm workers have been able to participate in welfare programs. The fact-finding apparatus not only supplied statistics, but provided a means of measuring ideals against actual achievements in this country.

The goal of research is a careful, critical search for solutions to problems. The challenge of research is how to profit from the information acquired. The judgment is to interpret correctly what solutions are indicated.

In the following pages we shall try to identify some of the major problems related to equality of opportunity for participating in welfare programs. Then we shall look at existing programs and policies of the various states in which migrants travel, and offer recommendations for alleviating inequities of opporunity where they exist.

Background — Categorial Programs

Public assistance programs had, until the 1930's, been primarily the responsibility of local voluntary and government bodies. Called "poor relief" or "pauper's fund" many of these continue to function today, but during the 1930's programs enlisting federal-state-county cooperation enabled more people to be served than could be handled by local or county units alone.

In 1935 the Social Security Act established the basis for programs to care for the aged, the blind and certain families with children. The most widely known programs, in order of size, are Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Permanently Disabled and Blind. It should be noted that in its original concept social services were neither required nor authorized. Aid was confined to money grants. Social services began under Title IVb, Child Welfare Services of HEW's Children's Bureau. Programs under the Social Security Act have been expanded over the years until today over ten million people in the United States depend on public assistance for all or part of the income they receive.

Food Programs

Food programs to assist the needy acquire a nutritional diet were also begun in the 1930's by the Department of Agriculture. Today these include the Commodity Program, the Food Stamp Program and the School Lunch Program. While originally designed to relieve food surpluses, they have been of great importance to the poor especially when they qualify for no other program of assistance. Each state decides to what extent it will participate in the administration of these programs. The **Commodity Program** makes available certain foodstuffs in excess of consumer demands. The **Food Stamp Program** provides a means of purchasing groceries with stamps that cost less than the value of the food. The Department of Agriculture pays the difference to the grocer. The **School Lunch Program** was designed to provide meals for children at minimal or below cost of preparation. As of September of 1970, any school district participating in this program is required to provide, **at no cost**, a lunch for any child whose family's income is below the guidelines—$3,720 for a family of four—issued by the Secretary of Agriculture. The principal advantage of the commodity program e.g. canned and dry foods which include flour, rice, cereals, beans, cornmeal, milk, tinned meats, peanut butter, lard, etc. is that foodstuffs are free. The disadvantage is that only those food items determined as surplus are distributed. The assumption is that recipients have some money to buy additional items needed for a good diet since it is acknowledged that the commodities distributed do not furnish a nutritionally adequate diet. For many poor families this is an unrealistic assumption. For migrant families with sporadic as well as low income, commodities often are the only source of food.

A six member migrant family has an average annual income of approximately $2,100 per year. It is reported the average household in the United States in 1970 spent approximately 16.7% of their income for food.[2] Were the six member migrant family to allocate 16.7% of their annual income for food they would spend $351 per year. This equals 16¢ per day per family member. Obviously they cannot subsist on this. Neither can they try to subsist on the USDA economy food plan of 75¢ per day per person. This would cost them $1,643 per year or 79% of their income and leave them $457 per year for transportation to their job location, clothing, shelter, health, and other living expenses. Even were they to attempt this type of subsistence they would endanger their health, since in 1968, USDA said of the economy plan:[3]

> "... The cost of this plan is not a reasonable measure of the basic money needs for a good diet. The public assistance agency that recognizes the limitations of its clientele and is interested in their nutritional well being will recommend a money allowance for food considerably higher than the cost level of the economy plan."

To further worsen the dififculty in providing an adequate nutritional diet for their families, many commodities made available to the states by the federal government are not distributed because of the lack of refrigeration and storage at the local level.

The principal advantage of the food stamp program is that the stamps may be used for purchase of any food, including fresh vegetables and meats. Merchants have less objection to the program. The disadvantage is that

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(2)—Washington Farmletter, Wayne Darrow Letter No. 1416—November 13, 1970.

(3)—Senate Select Committee on Nutritional Human Needs, The Food Gap; Poverty and Malnutrition in the United States—Interim Report (August, 1969) page 18.

the migrant must have the necessary money to purchase the full allocation of stamps on a specified day and at a specified time each month. The day and the time varies from county to county and little effort is made to inform migrants of local schedules. Stamps may not be purchased in lesser amounts than the maximum for which the family qualifies. Far too often, the non-public assistance purchaser has practically no money to purchase food stamps. Yet, currently welfare offices in only two counties are in a pilot project to provide free food stamps. The Office of Economic Opportunity, through its emergency food projects, does have additional such pilot projects.

In late 1970 Congress enacted a revised Food Stamp Act extending the Act for three years and establishing for the first time, a national income eligibility standard for operating the food stamp program uniformly in all states. This reform was strongly recommended by the Migrant Research Program in the Annual Report of the agency for 1969. Prior to this reform, each state determined the maximum a family could earn, and remain eligible to purchase stamps.

On April 15, 1971 assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Richard E. Lyng, announced proposed rules including a uniform national eligibility standard. It provides that a family of four with a net monthly income of $360 or less is eligible to purchase $108 in food stamps regardless of residence.

Photo by Earl Dotter

Hungry

Only three states, Alaska, New Jersey and New York presently equal or exceed this earnings limit. The new regulations also boost the monthly food stamp allocation and provide free stamps in some instances.

The current fiscal year ending June 30, 1971 calls for $154 billion for food stamp expenditures. About 10.2 million persons participate in 45 states and 1,976 of 3,129 counties in the nation. All but nine counties in the country are served by one or both of the food programs.

Legislative History of Food Stamp Program

The Food Stamp Program has been controversial since its inception. During the last years of the depression (1939-1943) a food stamp program was in operation to feed hungry people. That program was beset by administrative difficulties and was ended when World War II brought prosperity. Every year since the termination of that program in 1943, a new food stamp bill has been introduced in Congress. Those bills never passed.

In 1961, a pilot food stamp program was instituted by USDA using special funds available to the secretary. The primary purpose of the pilot program was to increase the nutritional value of diets of poor people. Studies of the pilot program in its 43 areas of operation indicated that it succeeded in increasing the nutritional diets of the poor and that it had a desirable impact, at least comparable to the Commodity Distribution Program, on reducing the farm surplus. For example, when the consumption of meat increased, the feed grain surplus decreased.

The 1964 Food Stamp Bill was introduced by Congresswoman Leonar Kretzer Sullivan of Missouri. She advocated placing the program under USDA rather than HEW, principally because she felt USDA had more experience and expertise in feeding people.

The bill ran into considerable opposition in the House Committee on Agriculture, where it was reported out with 63 committee amendments and a minority report signed by 16 of the 34 members.

The Preamble of the bill cites four reasons for the program, in order: 1) to strengthen the agricultural economy, 2) a more effective use of food abundances, 3) improve levels of nutrition for needy households and, 4) "other purposes." Notwithstanding the Preamble, there was general Congressional agreement that the primary purpose of the bill was the feeding of hungry people. Representative Brown of Ohio[4] cited the opinion of the 16 dissenting members of the Committee that the bill was misnamed. He said, "This is purely a welfare bill and not a piece of farm legislation, notwithstanding the way it is described in its title." Congressman Harold Cooley of North Carolina, Chairman of the Committee and a supporter of the bill said: (page 7128 in the Congressional Record) "Through this program we can relieve poverty." It is interesting that the supporters of the bill never refuted the charge that it was primarily a welfare bill. Mrs. Sullivan, obviously trying to soothe opponents, said that getting rid of the farm surplus was "one of the main purposes of the program." It would be accomplished by the needy increasing their food consumption.

On the second day of debate in the House, April 8, 1964, an amendment was introduced by Congressman Jones of Missouri allowing for simultaneous operation of the food stamp and commodity distribution programs in

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(4)—page 7125 Congressional Record, Volume 110, Part 6, April 7, 1964.

the same area, at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture.

The Senate version was reported out of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry without the amendment. The Committee did not intend to authorize the concurrent operation of the Food Stamp and Commodity Distribution Programs except on a temporary basis to meet a special emergency.

The major portion of the Senate floor debate centered on the welfare aspect of the program.[5] Senator George Aiken said, "This program is designed, of course, primarily to improve the health of a large number of Americans, who presently are unable to get enough of the right kind of food to live decently."[6] Senator Cooper stressed the welfare aspect of the program saying, "I would like to ask several questions to make clear the legislative intent that the program is intended to benefit the needy, and to be administered by the States."[7] The debate in the Senate was brief and the bill encountered little resistance.

When the Senate version came before the House on July 23, 1964,[8] Representative Jones insisted on his amendment, saying it was clear what the Senate version meant. The debate resolved in an impasse with Jones objecting to taking the bill from the Speaker's desk. While the debate is confusing and inconclusive as to legislative intent, there are some helpful passages:

Jones: "...I want the commodities used when we have them and when the people are hungry."

Cooley: "That is exactly the purpose of the program. The purpose of the legislation is to provide food for hungry people, not to force it on any county, community, or any person."

Cooley: "If the members of the other body would accept your language this would not modify the program and not change it. With or without this language you have the same purpose and you accomplish the same thing."

In August 1964, the House concurred in the Senate amendments. There is no doubt that the Food Stamp Act of 1964 was proposed and passed as a welfare measure to feed hungry people. Its impact on the agricultural surplus was secondary and played a small role in its passage.

On December 24, 1970 the Food Stamp Act scheduled to expire on December 31, 1970 was extended for three years with major revisions. It contained among other things, two provisions which MRP believes will add additional eligibility burdens for migrants.

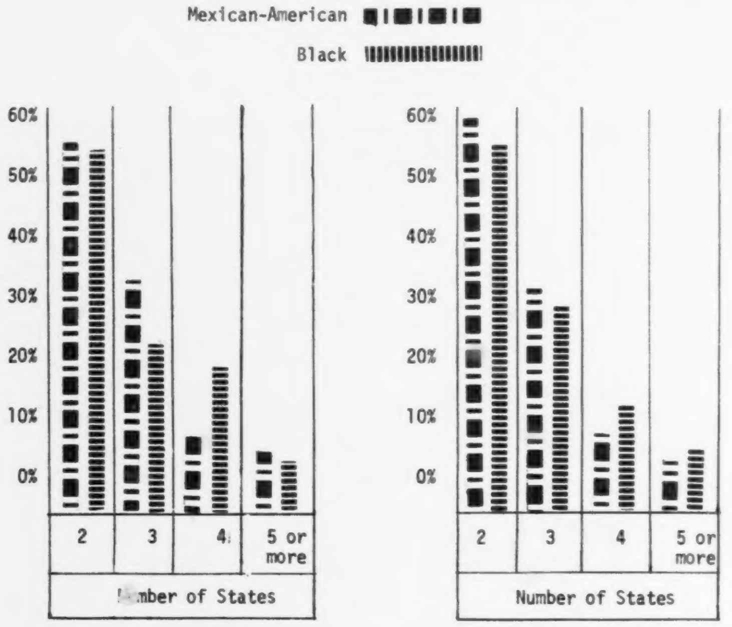
The first disqualifies an entire household if an able-bodied adult (aged 18-65, excluding mothers and students) fail to register for or accept work offered at minimum wage of $1.30 (well below the Fair Labor Standards Act minimum of $1.60 for industry but exactly the minimum for agriculture). Thus, it effectively eliminates children as well as adults from minimal food assistance in any family where an adult member does not meet the work requirement.

This provision which MRP objects to is in effect even when the person refusing the job can demonstrate that the proffered work will gravely endanger his health and safety. Since agriculture remains one of the most hazardous occupations in the nation, this works a particular hardship on farm workers and their families.

Under the new regulation, it is conceivable migrants would be forced to accept job orders for both intra- and inter-state travel. As further mechanization reduces the number of man days necessary to harvest crops, growers conscious of quality of production vs. cost of production vs. net return, increasingly demand more workers for fewer days in order to harvest crops at the peak of saleability. They now may insist on 50 men for 5 days instead of 5 men for 50 days. Migrants applying for food stamps could be forced into even greater mobility than they now suffer.

WHILE TRAVELING AND WORKING IN A NUMBER OF STATES, SOME MIGRANT AND SEASONAL FARM WORKERS RECEIVE SOME TYPES OF WELFARE ASSISTANCE.

BASED ON THE TRAVEL PATTERN, IT IS EASY TO NOTE THAT AS TRAVEL INCREASED, THOSE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN WELFARE PROGRAMS DECREASED. THE PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WHO RECEIVED ASSISTANCE AND THOSE WHO DID NOT WERE AS FOLLOWS:



Received Assistance

Did not receive Assistance

The second major new provision expected to work hardship on migrants is a regulation requiring all members of a household under 60 years of age to be related by blood or legal ties before the household can qualify for stamps. The intent of this regulation is to eliminate members of communes from participation in the food stamp program.

Migrants who do not take their families with them into stream states are generally required as a condition of their employment to live in migrant labor camps which are shared with other single workers traveling in the crew. Common cooking and eating arrangements are mandatory. Single workers in the Migrant Research Project sampling represented 16% of the population. Under the new regulations, all of these workers would be eliminated from the food stamp program almost as a **condition of their employment.** The new work requirement of the Act could conceivably require a worker to accept agricultural employment where such housing, provided as a fringe benefit of that employment, would eliminate him from participation in the food program. Thus these two regulations if applied to migrants would be contradictory and could effectively eliminate him from much needed food assistance. Additionally, migrants historically have established close knit family groups who live and work as units. This includes the extended

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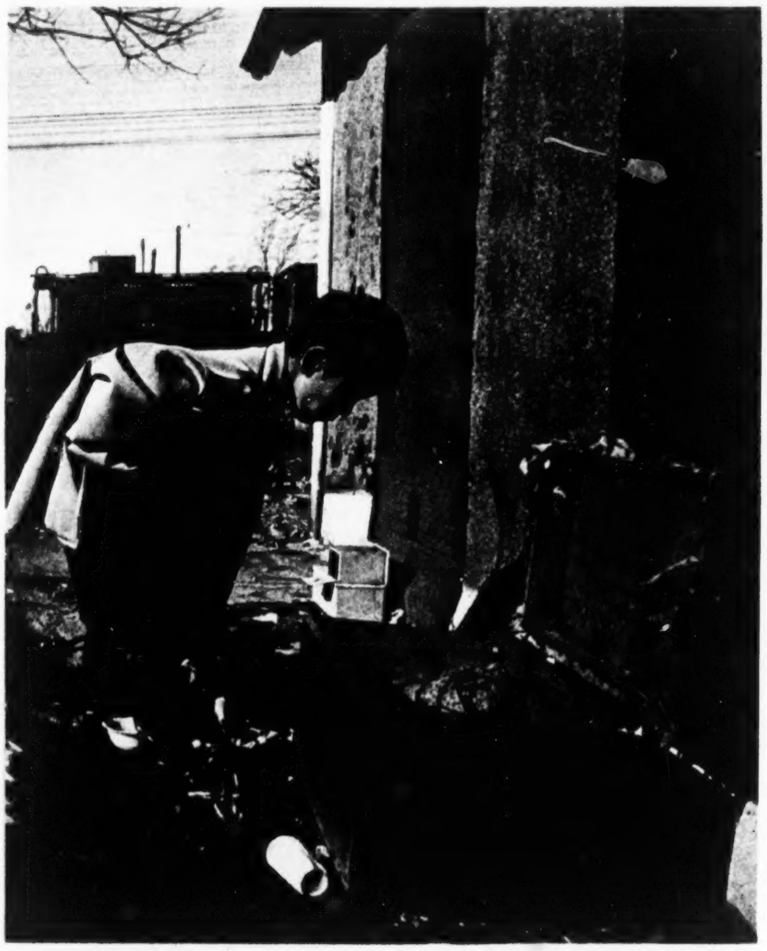
(5)—Congressional Record Volume 110, Part 12, June 30, 1964.
(6)—ibid, page 15433.
(7)—ibid, page 15438.
(8)—Congressional Record, Volume 110, Part 13.

family members who may be related by marriage to one or more family members **but unrelated to the head of-the-household.** Depending upon how this regulation is interpreted, it could eliminate all the members of such a migrant household from the food program.

Another important change in the new regulations clarifies the authority for a county to operate both the food stamp and commodity programs not only in emergency situations but to ensure an orderly transition from the Commodity Program to the Food Stamp program. The law now clearly makes it possible for the two programs to operate together simply at the request of the state agency. No household would be allowed to receive the benefits of both programs simultaneously. However, it would be possible for a state to utilize the two programs to more nearly meet the nutritional needs of poor families by supplementing the food stamp program with commodities when necessary. The Migrant Research Project worked with one grantee to determine the length of time food stamp purchases normally last until the next purchase date. The Migrant Action Program in Iowa reported that on the average, a food stamp purchase for one month, normally lasted three weeks.



—From Child of Hope.

Definition of Poverty

The United States Department of Agriculture indirectly sets the poverty index established for most federal public assistance programs. The formula devised establishes a poor family as one whose income does not exceed three times the cost of the "economy food plan" as determined by USDA. The cost of the economy food plan for a family of four for one year is currently estimated at $1,240. Thus, a nonfarm family of four with an annual income of $3,720 (3 x 1240) would be defined as living in poverty.

The establishment of such a formula is clearly unrealistic. As noted elsewhere, the USDA itself recognizes the limitations of the formula and labels it "unrealistic". The economy food plan is inadequate to meet even minimal daily food requirements. In addition such an index does not allow for differences in cost of living in different geographic areas. It allows only for farm or non-farm families. It was designed for use in emergency situations and was not intended as a guide for food needs extending beyond a period of a few days.

More importantly, the index of poverty established by USDA with the cost of the economy food plan as its basis bears no relationship whatsoever to many federal programs established to provide other kinds of assistance to poor persons. All of the Office of Economic Opportunity programs such as education and job training, health, housing, economic development, legal services etc. in reality have as a basis for determining eligibility the cost of the economy food plan determined by USDA. This is totally unrealistic but affects untold thousands of persons in need of such services.

All states establish their own minimum standard of living which is supposed to reflect the cost of living appropriate to that geographic area. The financial resources available to the welfare applicant are then measured against this standard to determine the level of need. At best, the amount of assistance authorized is the difference between resources and current income available to the applicant and the minimum need index established by the state. However, administrative ceilings on payments, restrictive eligibility requirements, and/or unrealistic minimum subsistence standards result in welfare assistance below the actual needs of recipients.

Design and Results of Welfare Study

Purpose

Migrant Research Project sought to develop a research design whereby a determination could be made of the extent to which migrant and seasonal farm workers receive welfare services. The research instrument was designed to identify the procedures used by welfare agencies in states included in the migrant stream, the type of staff and facilities available to the agencies, the attitudes of administrative officials and the administrative costs of processing and delivering services. In addition, an attempt was made to determine the number of migrant and seasonal farm workers applying for and participating in welfare programs in the various states.

While collecting source materials to obtain the best data available, one primary source was of special interest to MRP. This was the Report to the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of May 25, 1970 by the Food and Nutrition Service of the Department of Agriculture. This report, dealing with family food assistance programs, provided insight into the participation of migrant and seasonal farm workers, not only when the family was in the migrant stream but when residing in its home base. A summary of this document is set forth below:

Question One: Statistical Information

The statistics kept by each state and received by Food and Nutrition Service account for the number of families served, the amount of food involved and costs. While these figures did not appear to be utilized directly for policy making the following comments and recommendations were made:

1. Migrant worker families face special problems while in the stream. They are (1) mobility (2) short-term and unpredictable patterns of need for food assistance and (3) dificulty of projecting current incomes.

2. In January, 1970, instructions were issued prohibiting durational residence or citizenship requirements in eligibility standards for food programs.
3. Food and Nutrition Service intended to encourage certification and issuance of commodities or food stamps for a 30 day period pending final verification of income.
4. As of the date of this report 73 counties in the nation had no food program of any kind and Food and Nutrition Service intended to encourage implementation of programs in those counties, especially those where migrants would be.
5. While concluding that the regular procedures used in issuing food stamps create special problems for migrants, no workable plan had been developed at that time to provide annual certification."

Question Two: **Participation in Food Programs**

Monthly reports were presented for fiscal years 1967, 1968 and 1969 to provide information regarding the numbers of families and individuals who had participated in food programs. No data was available with respect to migrants and seasonal farm workers who had participated. Being unable to pinpoint statistically areas of high migrant participation in food programs, Food and Nutrition Service had not issued special procedures to be employed for certifying migrants. Handling a sudden influx of migrant workers appeared to depend on (1) advance awareness of potential emergency problems and (2) the extent to which an agency's staff and facilities could handle such a situation and (3) the use of preliminary certification procedures.

Question Three: **Outreach Efforts for Food Programs.**

Outreach programs had been instituted by the Extention Service of the Department of Agriculture some 18 months before the date of this report. Texas and Florida were cited as examples where educational programs appear to have been well received and Food and Nutrition's evaluation of them was that they were most successful.

Question Four: **Certification Procedures for Food Programs.**

These are established by each state, and must be approved by the United States Department of Agriculture. Any adjustment in office hours, staff size etc. to accomodate migrants during emergency situations must be initiated by the state, submitted as an amendment to the original state plan and await USDA approval before becoming effective. Problems migrant families face in becoming eligible were commented upon as follows:

1. When specific circumstances are brought to the attention of the states or the Department of Agriculture, every effort is made to simplify certification and to expedite food distribution.
2. No feasible approach has been found to establish an average annual income table to aid computation of income for migrants.
3. It was not deemed practical or feasible to require a migrant to carry comprehensive records from each employer or crew leader.
4. The use of an identification card to identify a migrant household as eligible was also considered and rejected.
5. No attempt had been made to develop a standard questionnaire governing certification.
6. No recommendation had been made to give special training to personnel of welfare offices located in areas impacted with migrants.
7. Grievance and/or Hearing procedures for those applicants refused certification are mandatory on each State.

Question Five: **Extent of Rejection or Decertification**

No statistics are kept concerning the number of persons rejected or decertified for food programs nor are statistics kept concerning those decertified for lack of regular participation.

Question Six: **Hardship Provisions in Food Program Certification.**

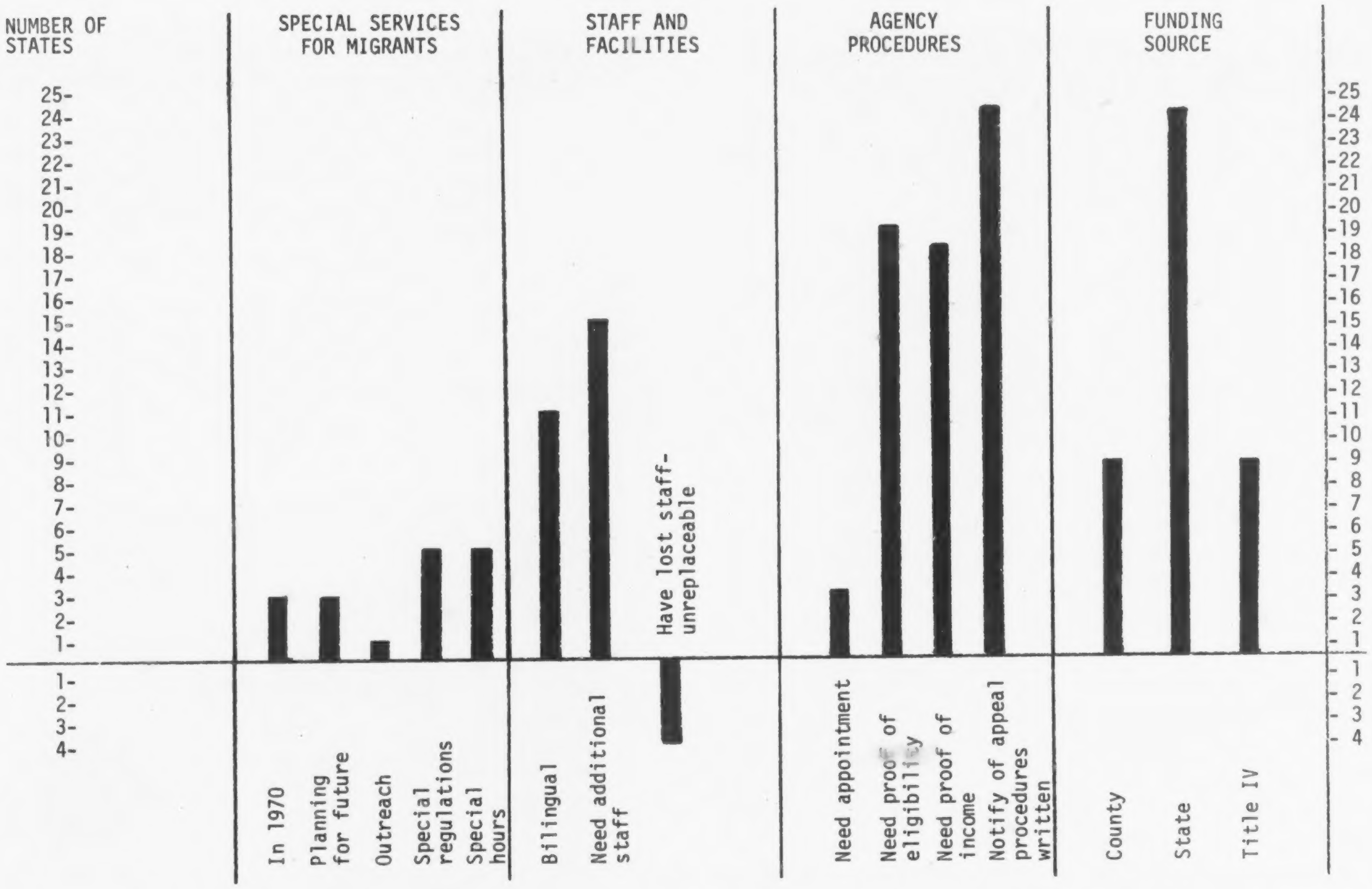
Each state has jurisdiction of administering food programs. Practices relating to hardship provisions are the same as those used for any applicant, e.g., excessive costs for rent, transportation, medical care etc.

Welfare Office in Harlingen, Texas

Questionnaire Design

It appeared from the study of the above report and from all other source material that there existed significant gaps between the information available and that which would be needed to determine the extent to which migrants have been able to participate in welfare programs. The research staff of the Migrant Research Project designed eight questionnaires to gather social, demographic and economic data for the total agricultural industry population. Data gathered, in addition to the questionnaire designed to be administered to county and state social welfare agencies, included information from farm owners and growers, food processors, migrant and seasonal farm workers, crew leaders and private organizations assisting both farm owners and farm workers. Therefore, information gathered from social welfare agencies could be analyzed and evaluated to even a greater extent by comparing the results of each group interviewed.

Twenty-five states were chosen in which to conduct interviews on the basis of the number of migrants and seasonal farm workers traveling through them in search of employment. The questionnaire was designed to elicit responses covering: (1) the availability of special services for migrants; (2) the extent of staff and facilities; (3) the procedures employed by the agency to provide services to the applicant; and (4) the funding sources of services available. It consisted of nineteen questions to be answered "yes" or "no," fifteen open-end questions and a statistical sheet designed to obtain numbers of



regular applicants as compared to migrant and seasonal farm workers applicants for welfare services. The accompanying chart shows the extent to which questions within the above four catagories were answered affirmatively in the 25 states.

Collecting and Analyzing Data

Personal interviews were conducted with one hundred administrative heads of Departments of Social Welfare. These interviews, which averaged one to one and one-half hours each, took place in the resident locale of each interviewee. Four members of MRP research staff were responsible for all the interviewing. Only in one instance was a member of a County Board of Supervisors interviewed.

Results

Since personal interviews were conducted, the number of responses was close to 100%. Some substitutions were made when bad weather or changes in schedules cancelled previous appointments, but these were with personnel well-qualified to serve as substitute.

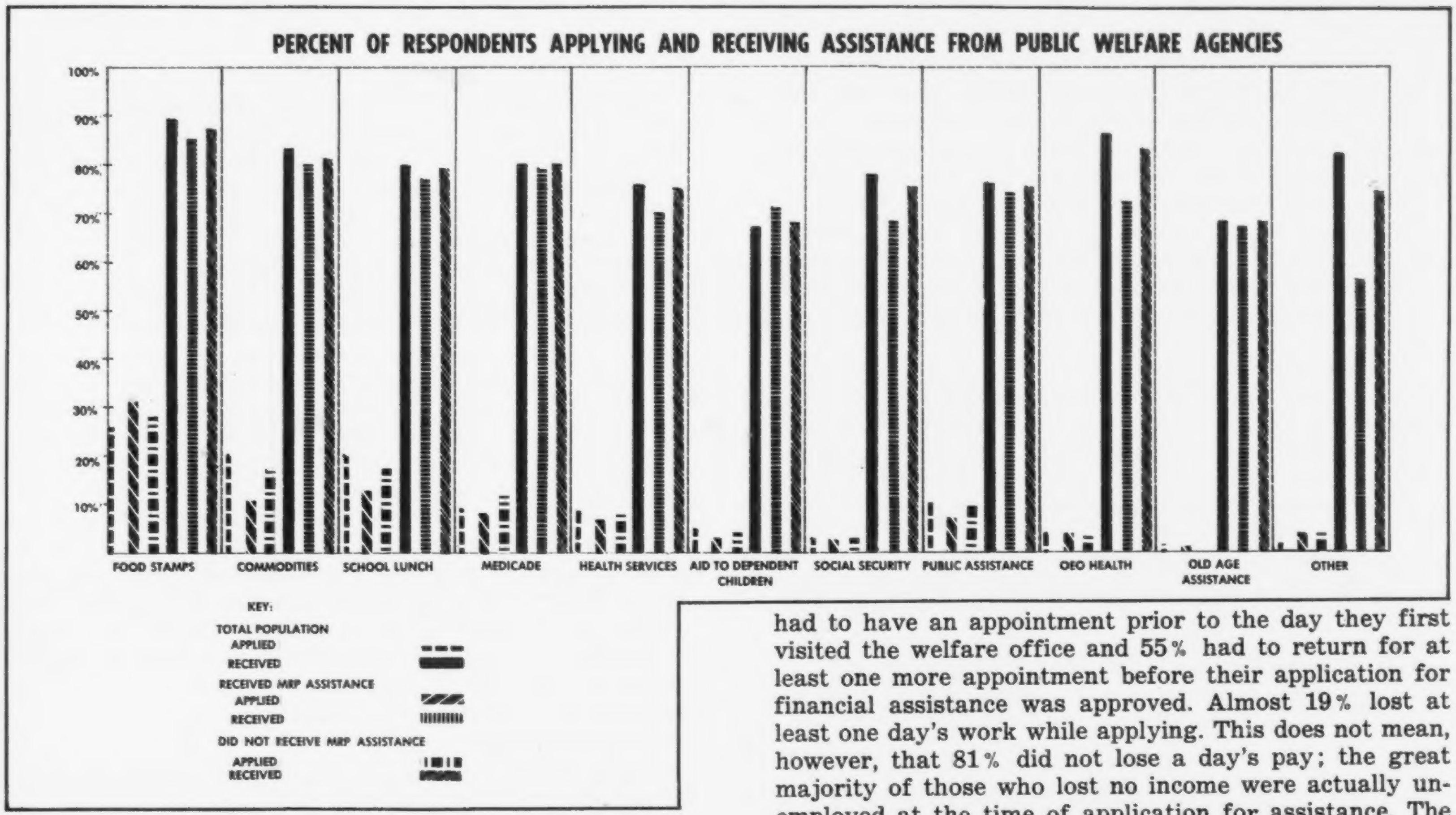
The goals of determining the internal operation of welfare agencies was met as well as gathering attitudes responsible for the implementation of welfare services. Acquiring statistics in a manner broken down between migrant and non-migrant was less successful. Of the 25 states interviewed, less than half were able to give meaningful answers in at least one office within the states; and of these, many indicated their answers were educated guesswork. Even with this handicap, sufficient valuable information was gathered to enable evaluation of common problems, consistently observed and related by those interviewed.

Overall, the answers served to verify certain assumptions made by Migrant Research Project which tend to disprove or at least disagree with popularly held conclusions concerning availability of social welfare services to migrants and seasonal farm workers.

The research data gathered from this questionnaire indicates the following areas of concern exist uniformly throughout the 25 states in which interviews were conducted.

1. A small proportion of migrant and seasonal farm workers presently participate in social welfare programs.
2. A large proportion of migrant and seasonal farm workers have little information or knowledge of social welfare programs.
3. Emotional barriers are present which effectively diminish migrant and seasonal farm worker participation in social welfare programs.
4. Regulatory barriers are present which effectively diminish migrant and seasonal farm worker participation in social welfare programs.

As a result of interviewing some 4,000 migrant and seasonal farm worker families in these 25 states, it was determined that only 9% indicated they had applied for welfare services. Further results of these interviews place 97% of the four-member families at an annual income level of below $3720 which is the poverty income index used by the U.S. Department of Agriculture as the poverty level for a non-farm family composed of four persons. Considering the fact that the average family size of all interviewed was 6.4 and the mean 5.5 it can be assumed that these families would be eligible for at least the food programs of assistance. The small percentage of those indicating they had applied for such benefits is consistent with the paucity of response obtained in this regard from welfare officials.


PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS APPLYING AND RECEIVING ASSISTANCE FROM PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES

The above chart shows the percentage of respondents—from 1) those who applied for and received MRP assistance, 2) those who did not apply for nor receive MRP assistance, and 3) the combined total of the two groups—who applied for specific types of assistance programs. It also shows the percentage of those who received the assistance requested.

An analysis of the responses to the questionnaires administered to 513 migrants in the adult education programs revealed the following information regarding their experiences in applying for and receiving welfare assistance. From private organizations, 24%[9] of the migrant and seasonal farm workers received financial help in the following categories:

Food/Commodities	66%
Medical help	19%
Money for Transportation	12%
Clothes	2%
Other assistance	2%

From local welfare offices, 37%[10] of the migrants received assistance and an additional 9% applied for help but were turned down.

Of those 188 migrants and seasonal farm workers in the sample who received assistance, they listed the help as being one or more of the following:

Food Stamps	47%[11]
Surplus food	30%
Health care	34%
OEO Health Care	04%
Aid to Dependent Children	18%
Social Security	05%
Other public assistance	09%

Of those of the survey population who applied for public welfare assistance, 141 or less than 51% said they had to have an appointment prior to the day they first visited the welfare office and 55% had to return for at least one more appointment before their application for financial assistance was approved. Almost 19% lost at least one day's work while applying. This does not mean, however, that 81% did not lose a day's pay; the great majority of those who lost no income were actually unemployed at the time of application for assistance. The majority of those answering the question did not have assistance from an outside agency or any other person in making application for the help. Most had an appointment before going to the office and either drove themselves or had a friend take them.

Interestingly, only 27 migrants out of 246 were told by welfare administrators that they might be eligible for public assistance programs other than the specific one for which they had applied.

Analysis of all statistics indicates that on the whole those migrant families who received MRP emergency food assistance not only applied in greater numbers for other types of welfare programs, but a larger percentage of the applicants received the assistance for which they applied. In only two instances did a lesser percent of those receiving MRP assistance as opposed to those not receiving MRP assistance make application for welfare assistance. In both instances a larger percentage of them received help. For food stamps only 26% of those receiving MRP help as opposed to 31% of those not receiving MRP help applied for participation in the food stamp program. Yet, 89% of them, as opposed to 85% of the other group, received help. Less than 1% as opposed to 4% applied for other types of assistance; and 82% of those receiving MRP help as opposed to 56% of those not receiving such help, received benefits.

MRP recommends further study of this particular set of facts. General assumptions can be made e.g. the people filing application for emergency food assistance: 1) were taught to communicate more easily and fully with interviewers, 2) were taught to keep better records; 3) were more aggressive in pursuing their rights, 4) were more in need despite the fact income figures show no great degree of difference—less than $100 on the average annual income, or 5) were accompanied to the welfare offices by staff members of MRP sub-contractors.

MRP suggests that the last reason is the most accurate assumption. In the training programs conducted for subcontractors, and in the almost constant telephone com-

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(9)—28% did not answer this question.

(10)—31% did not answer question.

(11)—% figures do not exclude migrants from participating in more than one program. Hence, % does not add to 100%. There is no relationship.

munications with sub-contractors, MRP was advised again and again that staff of each sub-contracting agency had to accompany the migrant applicant to the welfare office to ensure the migrant's receiving the benefits of the program for which he was eligible.

In addition to this, MRP staff who interviewed welfare officials observed procedures followed in welfare agency waiting rooms where unaccompanied migrants attempted to apply for food stamps. In far too many offices migrants were turned away by receptionists because they could not state, with some degree of accuracy, what their anticipated income for the curent month would be. USDA's income eligibility requirement is dependent upon the current month's income. The resident non-public assistance applicant has no problem with this requirement. His monthly income generally is static. If, however, his income for one month exceeds that of previous months, an adjustment in food stamp purchasing ability can be made for the next month. The migrant, however, rarely has two months in a year where he earns the same income—even July and August—the peak earning months for most migrant families. Also, when he first enters an area he may not be employed. This not only makes it impossible for him to guess what he might earn, it makes it impossible for the welfare staff to check with his employer to determine whether the migrant is giving accurate information.

Not one of the 100 welfare officials interviewed could state unequivocally how he determined a migrant's income, with the exception of one office in Florida. In this one county, the Farm Labor Service of the State Employment Service predicts at the beginning of each month the number of days available for work to agricultural workers and predicts the amount of money the agricultural worker would earn. MRP staff did a spot check of the predictions of the then current and the two preceding months' predictions. In none of the three months surveyed were the predictions correct. In each case, the numbers of days predicted exceeded the actual number of days available for work. Despite this rate of error, the predictions were still used. This was true even if on the 25th of the month there had been only four available work days and the prediction was for 22 work days. A man applying for food stamps on the 25th—with 5 or 6 days remaining in the month—where at best he could have a total of 10 work days—had anticipated income computed on 22 days and thereby was ruled ineligible to participate in the food stamp program.

In all other geographic areas included in the study, welfare directors stated they had no way of arriving at a just method of figuring current month's income. The majority used a simple rule of thumb. "I know the growers in the area and I know the migrants. The growers say they pay more than they do. The migrant says he makes less than he does. Somewhere in between, depending on the grower and the migrant, is the right answer. I figure what the relationship is, and that is the figure I use."

Only one county director interviewed by MRP staff had a full understanding as to the reason for the variance in amounts stated by growers and migrants. He had checked the pay records and learned what happens in the majority of cases. He stated it this way:

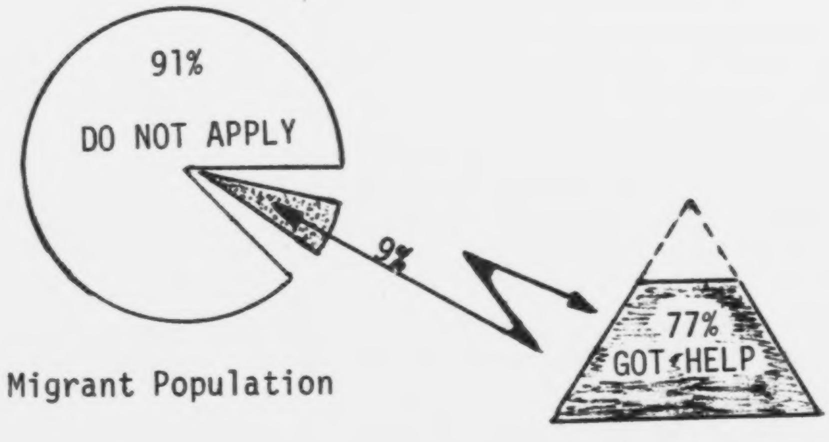
> **"For example, grower C hires 1 labor contractor and pays him 65c per bushel. The labor contractor hires 10 crew leaders and out of his earnings, pays them 55c a bushel. The 10 crew leaders each hire 100 workers and out of their earnings pay them 35c a bushel. The migrant then, from his 35c per bushel, has deducted from his pay, housing costs, advances on transportation, any taxes withheld, etc."**

However, in even this instance, the welfare director still used the rule of thumb in determining the current month's income **MRP is convinced that until the USDA develops another method of determining income for migrants to allow them to participate in food stamp programs, injustices will continue to abound.** In the chapter on recommendations, these are spelled out in detail. The revised regulations announced in April 1971 by USDA establish national standards of income eligibility. USDA authorities are relying on these national standards to solve many of the inequities described above. MRP believes this is a false hope because eligibility requirements will continue on the current month's income basis and allow the states to develop their own method of determining current month's income for migrants. Clearly this is impossible. **However, based on statistical information available to USDA in this report, MRP believes it is possible to establish a realistc projected income based on family size and migrant national median income figures.** The margin of error utilizing such a method would be small and within USDA allowable audit exception guidelines.

Reasons for Low Migrant Participation in Welfare Programs

Assuming fear of income ineligibility is not the only reason that prevents a migrant and seasonal farm worker from applying for welfare assistance; other reasons must be examined which may prevent such application. One reason may be his lack of information or knowledge of the existence of programs. Only one state interviewed employed outreach workers to serve migrants. Since any attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of outreach based on one answer would not be reliable we can only conclude that the value of outreach as revealed by those private and other public agencies providing such service would correlate with welfare outreach if employed. Our questionnaire revealed that in every instance where outreach was used to inform migrant and seasonal farm workers of assistance programs, welfare agencies experienced a significant increase in applications.

MRP worked with the Wisconsin State Department of Health and Social Services to study the delivery of food distribution programs to agricultural migrant workers in Wisconsin. A major conclusion of this study was the necessity for a well-planned outreach program by welfare agencies to ensure needy migrants services. See Chapter IX for complete discussion of this study.



Many emotional barriers were revealed which diminish migrant and seasonal farm worker participation in social welfare program. While most states indicated communication difficulties in their contact with migrant and seasonal farm worker families, eleven of the twenty-five states employ bi-lingual staff members in at least one office. Languages other than English included German, Polish, Greek, French, and Italian as well as Spanish. Among the 13,000 families interviewed by MRP none of these languages other than Spanish could have assisted migrants. The real communication problems arise more often, however, where welfare agency staff have little understanding of how migrant labor is recruited, utilized, reimbursed and especially where narrow interpretation of rules and guidelines allow little flexibility to accomodate "migrancy" as opposed to "transientcy". Other emotional barriers evidence themselves in negative attitudes expressed about migrants and seasonal farm workers by welfare personnel and negative attitudes expressed about welfare personnel by migrants and seasonal farm workers.

Migrants Waiting to be Certified

Comments by those administering the questionnaires to welfare officials indicated that in the majority of cases a more professional attitude in approach to problems that exist with ethnic groups was expressed on a state level than on the county level. This may be accounted for in large part by the difference in vocational preparation as well as the type of duties performed. In one county welfare office, funded by county funds only, the interviewee evaded giving information requested, while maintaining a most courteous and helpful attitude. A local newspaper, covering a regional meeting attended by many persons with similiar positions, quoted her as follows

> "We have many transients and migrant workers . . . we are not the least bit interested in enticing these people to stay on after the work is done. We don't want to encourage them to settle in our community. We feel they can live farther south more economically."

She related that she

> " . . . fully investigated any requests for assistance from persons who claimed they were destitute and by investigating their claims, I eliminate at least 95 per cent. . . We put out the word the county will not bury anybody, period. But if they insist we will put them in some kind of a box and bury them. Usually, when the family sees what they are going to get, they come up with the money somehow because they don't like it."

During the interviews with migrants and seasonal farm workers, "coming up with the money" was a topic which caused critical comments about welfare personnel. Medical and hospital bills frequently surpass their ability to pay even in part. Practices were common of refusal to treat unless payments were made in advance. In the event services had been rendered, the threats and harassment by business office personnel employed by hospitals and physicians for payment, as related, would appear to constitute a basis for a civil law suit under ordinary circumstances. When county officials refused to make medical assistance available a migrant family was forced to assume a loan far greater than they could reasonably be expected to pay even if full employment were available.

Regulatory barriers exist both in administering catagorical types of welfare as well as non-public assistance welfare programs. While catagorical programs are funded primarily with Federal funds and carry no residual residency requirements, interpretation of residency by all states interviewed is subject to individual state guidelines. All states establish their own minimum standard of living which is supposed to reflect the cost of living appropriate to that geographic area. The financial resources available to the welfare applicant are then measured against this standard to determine the level of need. At best, the amount of assistance authorized is the difference between resources and current income available to the applicant and the minimum need index established by the state. However, administrative ceilings on payments, restrictive eligibility requirements, and/or unrealistic minimum subsistence standards result in welfare assistance below the actual needs of recipients.

Migrants are often asked to sign "Intent to Remain" statements by public welfare agencies before assistance is given.

"Intent to remain" in a state to receive assistance is in and of itself enforcing compliance. The alternative for a migrant and seasonal farm worker is to lie about his intentions.

This alternative apparently frequently occurs, and state officials seemingly are unaware of the consequences of this action. For example, in the valley in California, a welfare director stated there were no migrants in that particular welfare district. According to an OEO III B migrant grantee, by actual count there were 2,000 migrants in this district. The OEO grantee had documentary evidence to back up this claim—as did the welfare director to back up his claim. The migrant applicant for food stamps had to declare his intent to reside in the area to be eligible for assistance. Therefore, when he applied for food stamps he stated he intended to reside in the county. He, too, told the truth. He intended to remain there as long as he had work or the prospect for work. The welfare director therefore had documentary evidence that the (migrant) food stamp recipient was a resident. The OEO migrant program, based on their in-depth interview, knew the (migrant) food stamp recipient would move on to another area when work was completed. Aside from the migrant receiving food stamps, (for which he was eligible since residency is not a requirement) and aside from the fact that the welfare director was fooled into thinking he served a resident, there is another result of this action which could be tragic for the children of migrant workers.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act amended provides money to school districts, through the State Department of Education, for the education of migrant children. The amount of money granted through the states to the school districts is based on the number of migrants in the area. Should this department of welfare eliminate on paper, the number of migrants in the state, a cut in the federal education budget for the state could follow. The welfare director with whom we discussed this problem stated that the Department of Education could solve it. As far as he was concerned, his job, among others, was to provide food stamps to needy **residents.** When it was pointed out to him that residency was not a federal eligibility requirement for food stamps, (and in fact, could not be), he referred to his regulations issued by the state, which said it was.

Time Lag in Issuing New Regulations

The time lag involved in providing local county directors with changes in regulations is the cause of as much injustice to the poor as is any form of outright discrimination. The federal agency—in this case USDA—will notify the state of a change in regulations. In some states where MRP interviewed welfare directors, it was found that the state held the change in regulation until there were enough changes to revise the total manual rather than sending each change to the county directors as it was received. In a southern state as late as November 1970, an MRP interviewer learned that the July 21, 1970 USDA regulation No. 732-5 suspending residency as a requirement for food stamp eligibility had not been forwarded to the county welfare directors. **The MRP interviewer learned that the state office did not transmit any such change until the state office revised the entire manual. The date was not yet set for this major undertaking and MRP did not learn how many other regulations were delayed for the revision.**

In September of 1969, MRP learned that USDA regulations, changed in January of that year, had not been received at the local level in a mid-western state. **The reason—again—was that the official at the state office had not had a chance to revise the manual.** MRP, at that time, suggested that telegrams be sent to local offices notifying them of the change to enable them to serve migrants who because of an emergency caused by bad weather were in dire need. The state official explaned that telegrams were never used for such a purpose. He did agree to write a letter the following week. MRP staff offered and did assist in drafting a letter that day. **However, the official was unable, because of lack of clerical staff, to have the letter mailed out for another three weeks.** In the meantime, migrants went hungry since there was no field work available. Severe weather had caused the Governor to declare the state a disaster area and request federal funds to aid farmers facing crop failure—Hunger caused by lack of a typist!

How many migrant and other poor were refused assistance on an emergency basis because the bureaucracy of the state agencies could not function rapidly enough will never be known. Neither will it be known how often this failure on the part of the bureaucracy increases the number of poor people entering the militant organizations subscribing to the theory that revolution—not evolution—is the way to bring about change.

—From Child of Hope.

While Aid to Families with Dependent Children is available to those families whose husband and/or father is disabled, few states in which migrants travel participate in Aid to Families with Dependent Children/with Unemployed Fathers. In those that do, the unemployed father must have established a record of six quarters of covered employment (Labor Department) to be eligible—a record difficult, if not impossible to establish for a male in the migrant stream. Seven states in which migrants travel participate in Aid to Families with Dependent Children/Emergency Relief. This provides emergency assistance for a 30 days period but can be utilized only once in twelve months. For families not in the migrant stream, it offers immediate aid pending certification for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, but intent to remain prevents this from being used for migrants. These programs are designed to help families with children. Our research indicates that of the Mexican-American families interviewed 96% had families and of these 91% traveled with their families. Eighty-six percent of the Blacks had families and of these 50% traveled with them.

Regulatory barriers for non-public assistance applicants prove equally difficult for the migrant and seasonal farm worker family to surmount. These include (1) interpretation of income and (2) application and participation in food programs.

While little uniformity in the administration of food programs was revealed, our research concluded that Commodities and Food Stamp Programs are those most readily available to migrant and seasonal farm worker families. Data compiled revealed the following barriers:

Interpretation of Income

1. Sporadic income means eligible one month, not another month; eligible in one state, not in another, eligible in one county, not in another.
2. Proof of income is required in all states to one degree or another, often deceptive when acquired locally.

3. Methods of determining income vary from office to office. While some use past month's income, others use present month's income and some others use anticipated income, but in no instance, is annual income the determining factor for eligibility.
4. Income exempt from inclusion in computing costs of food stamps does not take into account the costs peculiar to migrancy such as overall travel or the necessity to accumulate savings upon which to live during off-season. Cars are not exempt resources.
5. Purchase requirements for food stamps exceeded available cash with no provisions providing for prorated payments.

Application and participation in food programs

1. Six of the 25 states provided assistance for one week to 30 days pending verification of eligibility.
2. Nineteen of the 25 states required proof of income before eligibility would be certified.
3. Welfare office facilities and staff numbers determined hours and frequency of issuing coupons as well as distance or availablity of making application.
4. Regular participation was required or recertification procedures were necessary.
5. Some offices accepted applications from only the head of the household. Some required only he could make purchases.

In an attempt to better determine the causes for the failure of migrant and seasonal agricultural workers to apply to public agencies for assistance, MRP held further discussions with selected individuals. On the basis of these further informal interviews with leaders of the target group, public officials and members of many migrant-oriented organizations, MRP concluded that the reasons migrant and seasonal workers do not apply for public assistance include:

1. Unawareness that welfare programs exist;
2. Inability on both the part of the migrant and the welfare worker to communicate through the spoken word;
3. Fear on the part of the migrant that by making application he might lose his job;
4. Rumors among the minority group that "there's no use applying because you will not be eligible anyhow",
5. State and local government personnel and budget restrictions make it impossible for local welfare offices to employ outreach workers to minister to the needs of migrants;
6. Inability of the migrant worker to accurately prove past income and the impossibility of predicting future or anticipated income due to the nature of his employment.
7. Inability to prove "intent of residence" in a stream state or in the homebase state.

Welfare agencies found regulatory barriers difficult for them too. The majority were deeply concerned about finding a way to extend services to an ever increasing number of applicants. Experiences with federal regulations were frequently cited. **In one state, officials from the Department of Agriculture encouraged welfare personnel to recognize the dificulty in certifying migrant and farm workers if strict interpretation of the regulations was followed and suggested care be taken not to deny the needy on technicalities. The staff responded to this encouragement but USDA auditors were critical and in effect countermanded this policy. In other instances, county welfare offices who took advantage of such encouragement to serve migrant and seasonal farm workers were accused of attempting to sabotage the whole program by raising the percentage of error to the level that the program would be discontinued.**

Migrants are Certified for Food

Excerpts from an interview with a state official who encountered this problem follows:

> "The state has encountered a great deal of difficulty with USDA auditors. The USDA officials came out and interpreted liberally to the county directors the regulations and encouraged them to serve migrants. In fact, told them they had to serve them.
>
> Later, USDA auditors came out and raised 'hell.' They did not interpret liberally and demanded a great deal of verification the counties didn't have.
>
> X——— County was particularly a bad spot. Initially the county served all migrants who appeared on a self-declaration basis including a no-income statement. USDA complained.
>
> The State Quality Control audited and found what the state official interviewed termed "fraud." Migrants gave false information on income and residency in approximately 20% of those audited. Almost 100% were audited.
>
> The procedure generally followed by Quality Control was to go to the crew leaders for information. They keep written records as a rule. Crew chiefs also, at times, withheld information.
>
> It was impossible for the state and county to check with all the employers since there was no way to know who they all were. There is no record of a migrant and a crew chief having a disagreement on the migrant's income when Quality Control checked."

(Migrants who depend on crew chiefs for employment and who travel as a part of a crew very often live and work under restrictions which affect not only travel, living and working conditions, but also the wages they receive. Very often they receive their pay in cash from the crew chief who keeps all records of earnings and gives the migrant their net pay after various deductions for travel, medical expenses, gloves, aprons, etc. and the crew leaders percentage of the migrant's earnings are made. MRP interviewing of migrants in one area was severly hampered by crew chiefs who physically prevented migrants from giving free responses to the questions. MRP had to eliminate these interviews from the research. ed.)

When asked what the percent of error in information given by the **resident** population was for food programs, the official answered 'it was between 5% and 10% for categorical programs and as high as 20% for commodities and food stamps. However, the **resident error** did not result in total ineligibility for the applicant whereas the **migrant error** did.'

There is, according to the official, more falsifying of information with food programs among the total population than with money programs.

The audit was done in X——— County because the County Commissioners were complaining about the food program. They apparently did not want it in the first place, the official reported.

The director stated that food programs are a very archaic way of helping people meet needs. However, he said, 'it keeps USDA rolling.' He would prefer an income supplement program. He gave a rough estimate of $20 cost for processing an application. (Rough estimate only—not reliable.) He said the cost of getting food to people under our present system is exhorbitant.

We tried to figure what the check in X——— County cost the state. It was:

20 man days in field
5 man days write-ups and form completions
—
25 man days = $750.00
travel = 250.00
Office-paper = 200.00
———
Costs $1200.00

This does not allow for costs to the County, State Department Operating Costs nor USDA costs.

(MRP estimates that total cost for a complete audit including federal, all state and county costs would amount to $4,000 to $5,000 per audit.)

The official estimates the value of food made available to persons who may have been technically ineligible to receive it at 40 persons x $200 per person or $8,000.00.

The population in this state is increasing. This is due to industry. People are settling here. He does not see mechanization as playing a big role at this point but hopes it comes faster. There is some mechanization in sugar beets and potatoes but it is spotty. He believes farmers should raise their prices to the consumer and pay decent wages to the workers. However, he knows the whole thing is political and will not happen. He seemed rather hopeless about this. He said, "If politics were not involved, we could do a better job of helping people."

MRP asked if any of the counties have outreach people who work in the camps and he said, no.

The official summed it up by saying he knew something should be done to serve migrants, that they need it. However, he did not know how the problem could ever be solved. Certainly not under the present regulations."

MRP later discussed the 100% audit of migrant and seasonal worker food stamp applications with an official of USDA to ascertain the number of such audits. USDA stated there were no audits of farm workers **per se.** However, audits were made in some counties to determine the cause of the sudden and amazingly high increase in participation in the food stamp program.

Costs of administration of food programs is borne locally and our research data indicates that welfare agencies consistently **cited** the high cost of administration of food programs. The highest administration cost was identified as that required to process the non-public assistance applicants. However, an exceptionally large number of welfare officials interviewed were attempting to find solutions to their cost problems in order to provide services.

Texas is the only state which has a debt ceiling on welfare expenditures set by the State Constitution. Until August 1969, the ceiling was $60 million. Most of the allowable $60 million went to Old Age Assistance. Recipients were predominately Anglo. Caught in a squeeze by the Constitutional limitation, the Supreme Court ruling on eligibity, and increased need, the State Welfare Department issued new regulations which went into effect on May 1, 1969. **These provided only 50% of the recognized needs of AFDC recipients, but 95% of the needs of the blind or disabled and 100% of the recognized needs of Old Age Recipients.** On July 1, 1969, the federal court in Dallas issued a permanent injunction against the state, giving it 60 days to restore welfare cuts or face the loss of $160 million in federal matching funds. The legislature passed an amendment raising the debt ceiling to $80 million.

A February 1970 report of the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights made the following statement regarding the food programs in the homebase state of Texas:

> "Both food assistance programs suffer in Texas from the fact that the state does not provide funds in support of them. Texas is apparently the only state which does not. Instead, each county which participates in the surplus commodities program is assessed a certain amount (currently $.36 by law, not to exceed $.40) for each participant. Appropriations by the state legislature are made from this fund, not from general revenues. Note that the poorest counties, with the largest number of potential participants would be least able to afford the assessment. There is no assessment of counties participating in the food stamp program, and the state's costs for operating both programs are paid out of the assessment of commodities participants. Broader use of the programs is severly restricted because the decision whether or not a county will participate is left entirely to county officials. Both programs are inadequately funded at all levels of government. There simply is not enough money appropriated to deal with the problem."

Food programs are costly for welfare to administer. If, though, comparison is made to the cost to a migrant family denied adequate nutrition, it is miniscule. The New York Times on February 19, 1970, carried an article entitled **"Long Study of Mexican Siblings Supports Malnutrition I.Q. Link."** The results of a three-year long study of Mexican children who had been hospitalized at an early age with severe malnutrition showed that malnutrition not only has a lasting effect on its victims, but based upon standard intelligence tests conducted, they scored 13 points lower on the average than their brothers and sisters who had not suffered from the effects of malnutrition.

A study conducted in Colorado under the auspices of the Emergency Food and Medical Services, Title IID, Economic Opportunity Act, in the spring of 1969 identified physical disabilities suffered by 300 Mexican-American preschool children and related them to nutritional deficiencies. These included upper respiratory infections, skin infections, dental caries, enlarged livers, hyperthrophied tongue papillae and conjunctival folliculitis. Perhaps most distributing was the infant motality rate of 63 per 1000 live births in the history of these families.

Analysis of Welfare Questionnaires

Background

Our present public welfare system is one program of assistance based on a recognition of governmental responsibility for assuring that all individuals in our society are able to obtain adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care and other basic necessities of life.

Another form of assistance in the public sphere is insurance. Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, commonly known as Social Security, Unemployment insurance, Workmen's Compensation and the Manpower Development and Training Act fall into this category.

All public welfare benefits are available only to those who are eligible; whose circumstances fit the guidelines, so to speak. These guidelines vary from program to program, but all are based on need as the starting point.

There is really only one eligibility requirement to participate in food programs sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and that is to be poor. Instead of being the starting point as in the others mentioned above, need is the sole requirement for participating in food programs.

Since the amount of commodities and the amount and cost of food stamps depends on the size of the family and the amount of income currently received, an applicant must establish how poor he is. In addition, to qualify for food stamps he must have cooking facilies but this has been liberally interpreted. The 1969 Annual Report of MRP pointed out the hardship this requirement worked on migrant families who were required to share living quarters with other families in crowded camps. In September of 1970, the U.S. Department of Agriculture issued a clarifying interpretation which said, "conventional" cooking facilities and/or "conventional" utensils for food preparation are not required. The use of an open fire or canned heat with unusual, even homemade, cooking utensils may fulfill the cooking facilities requirement.

Analysis of Questionnaires by State Comparison

The chart below shows an analysis of the questionnaires obtained from the 25 states in which interviews were conducted. It indicates that there was more uniformity in agency procedures and funding sources than in staff and facilities and special services for migrants. Every state notifies an applicant of the appeal procedures when he is denied aid. The notification is a written one in all instances with the exception of one office in one state, where it is verbal.

However, in every instance, the appeals procedure ultimately ended up in the state welfare office where a review of statements obtained by a Hearing's officer at the local office was reviewed by the State Commissioner or his designee and a decision rendered. There appeared to be very little recourse from this one man review and decision. **In no instance did a state institute an appeals board which included a welfare recipient as a member. No welfare department provided a simplified handbook of department rules and regulations. No one questions whether a welfare official under the pressure to keep rising welfare costs within the budget set by state government can render an impartial verdict in an appeal procedure.**

In every one of the 25 states, funding includes state funds. These two requirements, appeal procedure and funding, are mandatory ones by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Proof of eligibility is required in 75% of the states interviewed, while proof of income is required in 72%. Sixty percent of the states indicated they needed additional staff personnel. Forty-four percent responded that bilingual staff was present in at least one office in the state. Thirty-two percent of the states interviewed have at their disposal for emergency use monies which are funded by county taxation, not reimbursed by state funds. Thirty-two percent also participate in offering services autorized by Title IV of the Social Security Act previously discussed as Aid to Families with Dependent Children-Emergency Assistance.

Twenty-four percent of the states interviewed have established some type of special administrative regulation for serving migrant and seasonal farm worker families. The majority of these include keeping separate statistics on migrant families as recently requested by the Department of Agriculture.[12] Relatively few have adopted regulations which extend or expand services in a special way. In two states, some welfare offices have enlisted the help of the local migrant organization or agency, in determining the eligibility for food programs of migrant applicants. These organizations or agencies are funded by OEO in all instances. In one state, migrant applicants for food programs, if eligible to participate can receive benefits without waiting for the first of the month, which is normally the time new cases are opened. One state allows a social worker to work at a day care center set up for migrant and seasonal farm workers by another agency. Two states have set up special regulations concerning the method of determining farm related income allowing some flexibility in using annual or seasonal income as a basis or in the absence of that using estimated current month's income earnings. Three states issue food stamps for one month even if income cannot be verified. However, only one state indicated their offices have never denied assistance because income could not be verified.

Twenty percent have established special hours to serve migrant and seasonal farm workers alone. Twelve percent of the states interviewed indicated an appointment is necessary to be seen at the welfare office. In those states where this procedure has been adopted it has been by offices located in metropolitan areas.

Twelve percent of the states interviewed have designed special programs for migrant and seasonal farm worker families. Twelve precent of the states interviewed indicated they were planning special programs for the following year. These were not necessarily the same states. Special programs include one state that has established day care centers and one that is starting to train a volunteer group to screen and process migrant applicants. Also considered a special program by one state was their commodity distribution in a migrant

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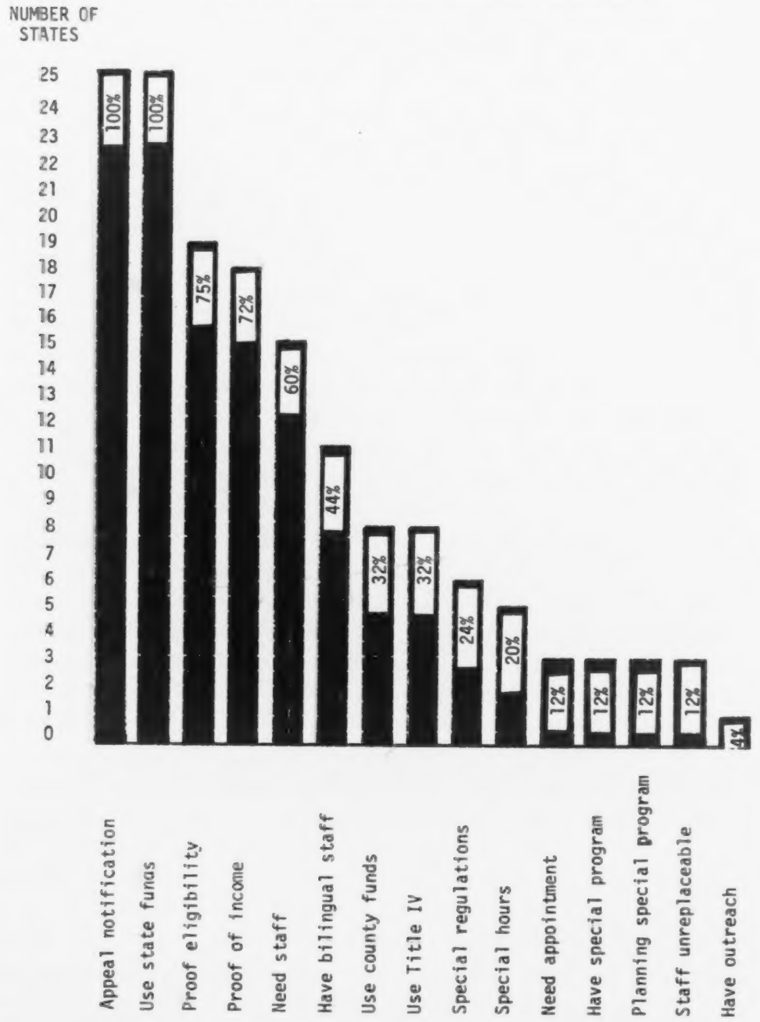
(12)—USDA states this to be an informal, non-scientific survey which cannot be published at this time.

and seasonal farm worker camp. One state considered their distribution of clothing donated by a volunteer agency to migrant and seasonal farm workers their special program. One state referred to special hours set up for the Employment Service program. The largest and most comprehensive plan is that being developed in one state to train indigenous aids to work with migrant and seasonal farm workers.

Twelve percent of the states interviewed indicated that not only were they understaffed but that they were suffering loss of personnel for which no replacement would be made. These states have experienced a freeze on the amount of staff that can be hired. This is due primarily to legislative allocation levels. The states are using staff resignations as a means to cut back personnel which is also due primarily to the amount of state funds allocated for administering welfare programs.

Four percent of the states reported an outreach worker was available in one office in the state to serve migrant and seasonal farm workers alone.

ANALYSIS OF AGENCY PROCEDURES, FUNDING SOURCES, STAFF, FACILITIES AND SERVICES FOR MIGRANTS.



Removing Welfare Barirers

There can be no doubt that the complexities of the present day system of providing needed social services and income supplement to needy families is archaic and outdated. President Nixon has called for a major new national policy direction designed to provide a basic welfare platform for all families requiring welfare. It is termed by some to be income maintenance both to working and non-working poor families on a national standard. The Family Assistance Plan, as proposed by the Nixon Administration, does not fully cover the ultimate goal of meeting the total basic needs of poor families; however, MRP endorses it as a step in the right direction and one long over due as a needed major overhaul of the present highly complex and administratively expensive structure of welfare assistance.

Most of the criticism of current public assistance programs center around their complexity, their myriad legal and regulatory technicalities, their failure to adequately meet human need, their intricate web of variable cost sharing formulae, and their lack of programatic and geographic uniformity.

It is the complexities of the present programs that result in a vast and unpopular bureaucracy more concerned with audits and guidelines than in serving people. In addition, states are overburdened with federal requirements for participation in programs they of themselves do not have the taxbase to support. **The final result is grossly inequitable treatment of equally needy human beings.**

The central theme constantly recurring in the MRP interviews with county and state welfare officials was the need for simplicity, uniformity, and equity in meeting the needs of poor people.

The present system of public assistance is a 35 year old patchwork of conflicting regulations which cannot possibly meet the needs of poor people. **Moreover, it is disliked by those who administer it, those who pay for it, and those who supposedly benefit from it.**

MRP believes that it is important that migrants enter the mainstream of American life instead of remaining on the fringes of it. Assimilation and association with public agencies for employment, welfare and education must be started now. Continued isolation with only short-term planning will not ease the transition. Migrant agencies must begin to educate public officials to the abilities and needs of the migrant as well as training the migrant in basic education and vocational programs. It is imperative that the nation, including the migrant, develop well defined objectives and goals for inclusion of this newly displaced group of people into full citizenship. **Programs to carry out these objectives must be understood and concurred in by the majority of the American people through their legislators, must be administratively workable for the agencies who implement them, and most importantly, must be understood and supported by the migrants intended to benefit from them.**

Amelioration of the Problem

Migrant Research Project concludes that equality of opportunity does not exist for migrant and seasonal farm workers in respect to participation in public assistance welfare programs. Conditions peculiar to their life style preclude eligibility for any of the programs except food distribution where residency is not required.

The research conducted indicates that factors other than residency prevent a large proportion of migrant and seasonal farm workers from participating in available food programs, including but not limited to, verification of income, problems involved in making application and the processing regulations of each welfare office. MRP urges that the federal agencies charged with the responsibilities of implementing those programs that Congress has deemed necessary to the social and economic progress of the nation be fairly and justly implemented to eliminate the discriminatory regulatory barriers which do not consider the mobile population. **It is not only unjust, it is unnecessary and grossly unfair that regulations be put into effect that do not impartially allow all needy persons to participate in the benefits of these programs.**

California

CHAPTER II - THE MIGRANT - WHO IS HE ?

The difficulty migrants experience in relating to welfare and other public agencies is directly attributable to the life-style which has been established for him by the peculiar needs of the industry which employs him. The demand of agriculture for seasonal employees has compelled the establishment and maintenance of a work force which can be available for short periods of time during the growing season. Under-educated — and with roots in the land which go back many generations — **the poverty** of the sharecropper, the tenant farmer, the slave, the Indian, established his nomadic way of life which erroneously is now labeled his culture. The myth of this label gained common acceptance to satisfy both the conscience and need of the nation for the debt economy which makes him captive and labels him a migrant.

In recent years however, the conscience of the nation awakened somewhat to the poverty and slavery of the migrant. Rather than risk the scorn of this awakening conscience, agribusiness took advantage of rapidly advancing technology to mechanize the industry. Tax depreciation allowances on capital investments in machinery made it an attractive alternative. Farms became larger and the cost/price squeeze was on. Small farmers with limited capital with which to make such investments were on the way out. The culture and identity which agriculture established for the migrant became obsolete.

Each year, fewer and fewer American citizens are able to maintain their families with earnings from agriculture. During the peak years when migrants played a major role in harvesting the crops, the rest of the nation far outdistanced them in acquiring higher educational skills. As migrant children worked in the fields, their rural and urban counterparts worked in school pushing the average educational level in this nation to an all-time high. **Forced from agriculture by mechanization, the migrant leaves the field to find himself uneducated, unappreciated, unwanted, and totally unable to enter any portion of the economic life of his country.**

In justice, the tax dollars that developed the machines which displaced him must now be turned to rehabilitating, retraining and developing his human resources. In the meantime, the debt owed him for his work in producing the food which fed and maintained the nation, as well as economic stability in agriculture, must maintain the stability of his family. Tax dollars which subsidize the crops of the land must subsidize the people of the land in order that the necessary retraining can be accomplished.

In the past few years, a myriad of programs have been developed and funded by several federal agencies to meet this need of farm workers for income and retraining. The programs have met with varying degrees of success. MRP believes the degree of their success is directly traceable to agency understanding of the migrant's way of life, the problems created for him by this life, and the attitude he has toward himself and the larger society. **Government**

has a responsibility to extend social services as well as income maintenance and retraining to farm workers. It has the additional responsibility to provide clear and concise objectives for these programs and a prime responsibility to coordinate and evaluate them. In order to perform this task, government must exhibit the same factual knowledge about farm workers it expects of the agencies, funded to implement its retraining programs. In this study, MRP presents the statistical data necessary to enable government to more nearly meet this need.

Income vs. Eligibility

As noted earlier in this report, most public assistance and social services programs are based on need with lack of income as the predominate elegibility requirement. Various estimates are made of the annual income of migrant workers. These vary from the $926 annual wage recorded in the 1969 report of the U.S. Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor to the 1968 estimate of $2,274 annual income reported by the United States Department of Agriculture in **The Hired Farm Working Force of 1968. In truth, no method exists whereby any agency of government could obtain and analyze information from migrants about their earnings.** Until the research currently being conducted by MRP was undertaken, information previously gathered was basically secured from employers through the Employment Security Commission.

In view of the emphasis placed on income as the chief eligibility factor for participation in public assistance and social service programs and because of the obvious need of migrants for these services, MRP determined in 1970 to secure greater in-depth information from migrants concerning their annual income. Regulatory barriers for participation in these programs almost always center around the migrants inability to prove his income. Negative federal post audits and quality control samplings combine to ensure against a relaxed approach to certification by local service offices. Clearly it is imperative that a simplified system of income determination for farm workers be devised. MRP research allows for average farm worker income per family size to be computed.

Income and Status vs. Regional Work Patterns

An hypothesis of MRP was that due to mechanization and resulting job shortages — both numerical and durational — travel patterns would change in 1970. The question raised by this hypothesis was: Would income figures for ethnic groups going into a different geographic area show an income differential between the groups. To determine this, MRP divided the country into four regions which conform to historical travel patterns of migrants and studied the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Mexican-Americans and Blacks by region.

The accompanying chart shows the results of this analysis.

It is interesting to note from the chart that there does not appear to be a correlation between earned income and receipt of assistance even though income is the chief eligibility requirement for such assistance. It would appear that no effort is made to reach and assist the poorest of the poor migrants. As noted in the MRP Wisconsin Study little effective outreach is being undertaken.

Mexican-American migrants applying for and receiving welfare help in the eastern regions of the United States have a higher annual income than those not receiving welfare assistance. However, in the midwest and western agricultural states those who participated in welfare programs had a smaller average annual income($1,941.71) than those who did not participate, ($2,227.43).

Black migrants in the eastern seaboard region of the United States receiving help had a higher average annual income than those not receiving welfare assistance. But in Regions 2 and 3 those receiving help had lower annual incomes. In the West Coast Region (#4) the Black migrant receiving assistance has a higher average income.

There appears to be a stabilizing factor of greater average income after working for the same grower three or more years. This may be attributable to employer/employee relationships.

Irrespective of whether a migrant farm worker was promised a job in a stream state or worked for the same grower the year before, it is apparent that the migrant searching for work on his own fares better in his first 2 years as a migrant worker. However, from the third year on, it appears that his average annual income is higher if he has received a promise of work before leaving his home base state.

MRP research data further revealed that Black migrants, regardless of the number of years they have been doing farm work, fared much better on annual income during the 1970 harvest season if they worked in a new agricultural area. On the other hand, the Mexican-American migrant who chose to seek work in a new area during the 1970 harvest season did not make as much money as his fellow workers who had returned to the area from the previous year.

FROM CHILD OF HOPE

The accompanying chart shows the results of this analysis.

Region I is composed of the following states: Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia and West Virginia.

Region II is composed of Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas and Wisconsin.

Region III is composed of Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming.

Region IV is composed of California, Nevada, Oregon and Washington.

THE MIGRANT – HIS INCOME AND STATUS VS. REGIONAL WORK PATTERNS

Special Study

Economic Social Characteristic	Migrant only in 1970 season		Migrant for 2 years 1969 and 1970		Migrant for 3 years Including 1968, 1970		Other Combinations	
	Mex.-Amer.	Black	Mex.-Amer.	Black	Mex.-Amer.	Black	Mex.-Amer.	Black
Average Income								
Region 1	$ 700	$1,750	$ 950	$1,380	$1,633	$1,575	$1,567	$1,842
Region 2	1,969	1,563	1,818	1,638	1,996	1,559	1,594	1,941
Region 3	1,523	–	1,023	–	2,193	2,000	2,383	–
Region 4	2,236	–	2,600	–	2,402	1,950	2,269	2,204
Average Size of Family								
Region 1	3.7	1.7	8.0	2.7	6.1	4.2	3.7	3.4
Region 2	5.1	5.0	6.3	4.0	6.6	5.3	6.6	6.9
Region 3	5.6	–	5.6	–	6.0	6.5	7.2	4.0
Region 4	6.2	–	5.3	–	6.0	5.5	5.9	5.2
Average Age of Family								
Region 1	26.5	16.4	17.0	13.6	18.1	16.5	20.6	19.1
Region 2	18.0	18.2	17.0	13.5	18.3	20.2	18.7	18.6
Region 3	18.4	–	16.4	–	18.5	11.6	16.0	12.3
Region 4	15.1	–	17.9	–	17.9	16.3	18.4	23.5
Average Annual Income of Migrants who received Public Assistance vs. those who did not receive Public Assistance.								
Region 1								
Received P.A.	–	2,000	–	1,699	1,716	1,701	2,000	–
Did not receive P.A.	–	1,500	950	1,252	1,641	1,543	1,480	1,842
Region 2								
Received P.A.	2,119	–	2,111	1,526	2,167	–	2,182	1,774
Did not receive P.A.	1,907	1,563	1,679	1,750	1,957	1,668	1,910	1,968
Region 3								
Received P.A.	1,904	–	845	–	2,176	1,600	–	–
Did not receive P.A.	–	–	1,156	–	2,298	2,400	2,383	–
Region 4								
Received P.A.	1,833	–	2,522	–	2,357	1,950	2,259	2,988
Did not receive P.A.	2,388	–	2,629	–	2,380	–	2,341	2,560
Average Annual Income of Migrants who: Worked for same grower 1968-70 Did not work for same grower								
Region 1	700	1,750						
Same grower	–	–	950	1,040	1,803	1,392	–	3,159
Different grower	–	–	–	2,399	1,463	1,926	1,600	1,402
Region 2	1,969	1,563						
Same grower	–	–	1,792	1,650	2,008	1,670	2,013	1,923
Different grower	–	–	1,846	1,600	1,994	1,242	1,916	1,841
Region 3	1,523							
Same grower	–	–	–	–	2,259	2,000	3,603	–
Different grower	–	–	1,127	–	2,172	–	1,163	–
Region 4	2,236							
Same grower	–	–	2,570	–	2,500	2,100	2,608	–
Different grower	–	–	2,618	–	2,320	1,800	2,185	2,667
Average Annual Income of Migrants who were promised jobs in 1970 harvest prior to leaving home state vs. those who free lanced in search of work:								
Region 1								
Promised job	–	1,750	–	1,282	1,614	1,387	1,000	–
No job promised	–	–	950	950	1,690	1,679	1,600	1,755
Region 2								
Promised job	2,027	1,563	1,544	1,745	2,130	1,369	2,069	2,520
No job promised	1,929	–	1,946	–	1,889	1,933	1,827	1,093
Region 3								
Promised job	1,641	–	–	–	1,899	2,400	3,603	–
No job promised	1,345	–	–	–	2,336	1,600	1,163	–
Region 4								
Promised job	1,500	–	2,267	–	2,396	1,950	2,433	–
No job promised	2,310	–	2,635	–	2,384	–	2,280	2,667

Migrant Income vs. Number of Workers Per Family

As the number of jobs in agriculture continued to decline in 1970, a major effect was noted in the number of immediate family members contributing to the annual family income.

MRP research indicates a new trend may be developing. Whatever the cause, MRP research showed average workers per family unit as follows:

Mexican-American	**Black**	**Other**	**Total**
2.3	2	2	2.3

It was not within the scope of current research to determine the causes of this decrease in numbers of workers per family.

It should be noted, however, that while the Mexican-American migrant continues to transport his family with him, fewer jobs are available to his children. Historically the children accompanied their parents because they contributed to the earning power of the family. Mechanization and scientific advances in agriculture have reduced not only the total number of jobs available; they have seriously restricted the number of jobs a child can handle.

At the same time, factors other than mechanization may play a role in the decreasing number of family members contributing to family income. Major employers appear to be discouraging recruitment of workers with large families. Stricter enforcement of housing laws limits the number of people per housing unit. At least one major sugar company is reported to be issuing a **gold merit card** which certifies a dependable work record and guarantees employment to those families with adult workers. A **white card** is issued to families with a dependable work record who have children under the age of 14 years. The white card does not guarantee employment.

MRP interviewers also reported that some migrants expressed fear in reporting accurately the number of their underage children who helped contribute to the annual income of the family. They felt that the courts might take the children from them and declare the parents unfit if the illegal employment of their children was discovered. Yet, another family who reported an income of over $3,000 wanted to be certain that MRP would report the family had six workers, including all children of 8 years and older, contributing to the family income.

It was interesting to note, however, that 55% of the migrants responding in the question in the national sampling indicated only one worker contributing to the income. In the more controlled adult education sampling, this dropped to 33%. (Included in the percentage are those migrants brought into the country as contract laborers who are brought in as singles.)

MRP believes the low annual wage per family reported by the migrants tends to support the view that the number of workers per family able to contribute to annual income is declining.

This may be the reason why more Mexican-American families are allowing non-related individuals to accompany them to the harvest. Black workers have done this for many years. Almost half of those in the stream have left their families at home and joined other groups while they looked for and worked away from home.

MRP's Adult Education survey showed 14% of the Mexican-Americans in the stream in 1970, traveled as a part of a family unit where there was no relationship to the head of the household; and, of the total sampling, five percent of the Mexican-American workers were not members of the family in whose household they lived and traveled.

It would be premature for MRP to state that this is a trend or that it could be the indication of a projected decline in the number of total Mexican-American families traveling in the stream. However, Texas school officials have reported that each year fewer children are leaving school early and returning later.

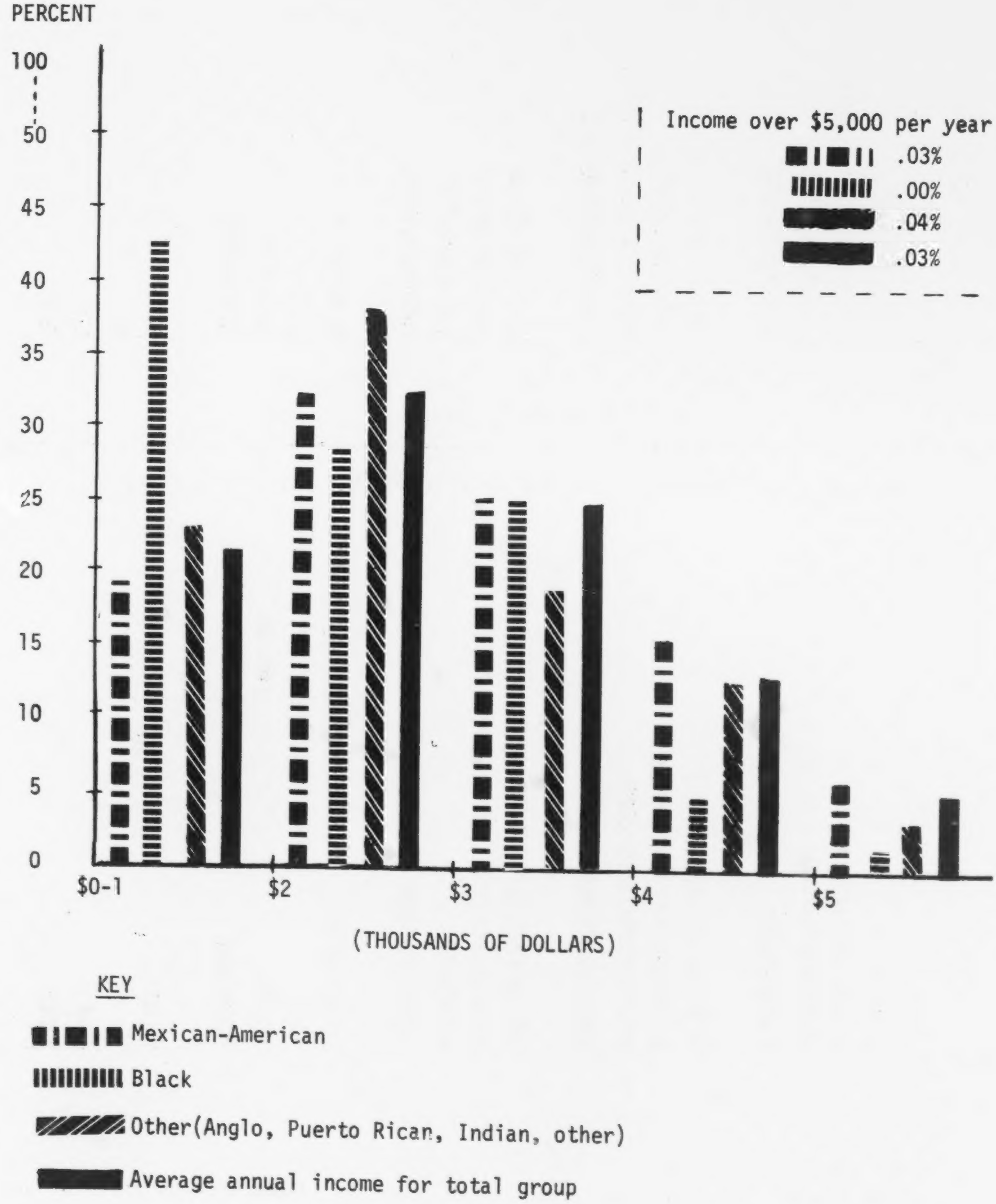
MRP believes that what started as economic necessity i.e. having the children accompany the family, may continue for a while longer solely because of habit, and this habit may be the saving grace to the Mexican-American migrant since one of the prime reasons given by the migrants for male heads-of-households entering Adult Education classes was to stabilize the family living pattern.

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT FARM WORKERS IN 1970 HARVEST SEASON

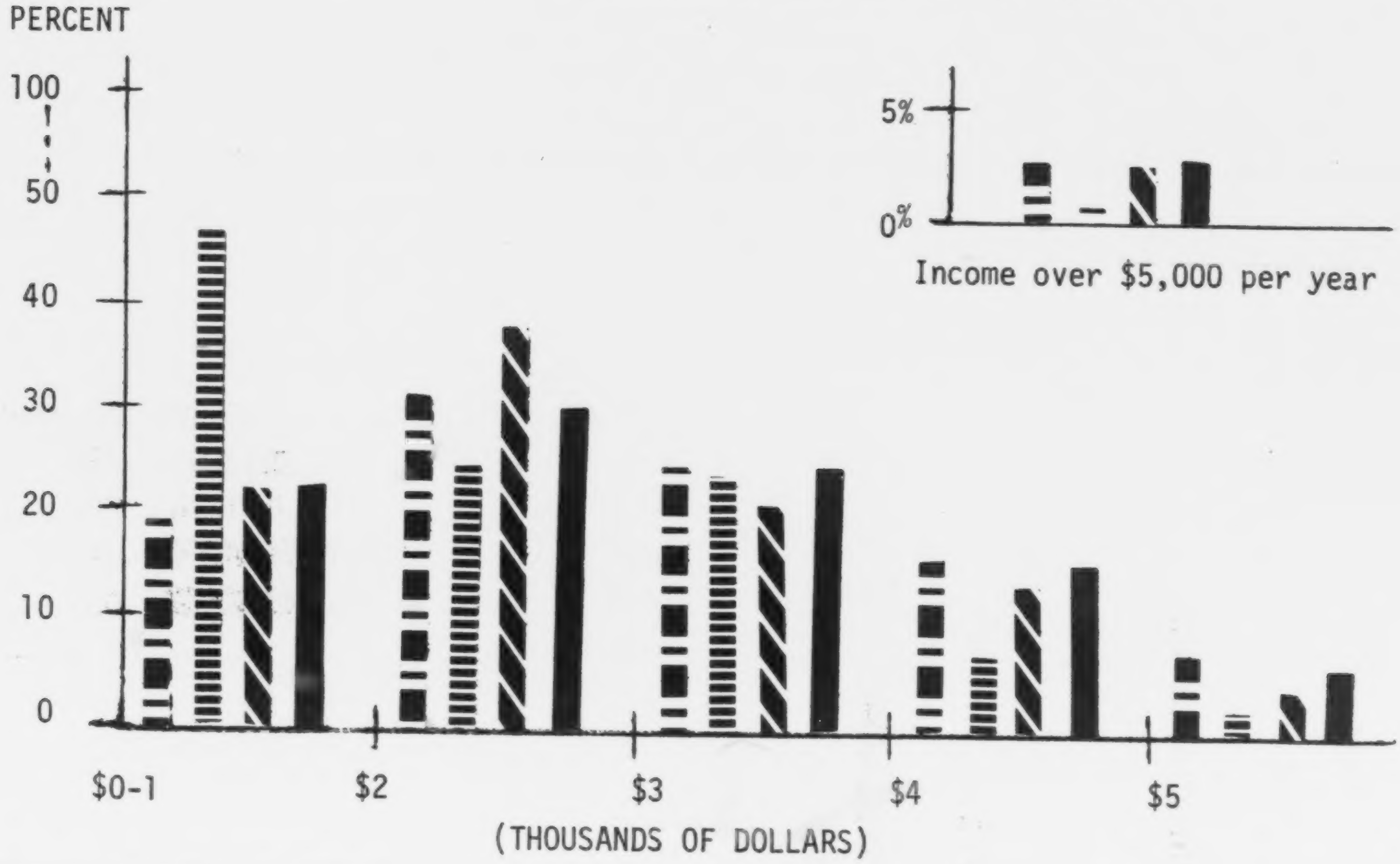
% Distribution of Work Force	MRP RESEARCH SAMPLE			USDA*	
	#	%		#	%
14-17 years	3106	28		75,000	38
18-24	2448	22		50,000	25
25-34	1688	15		22,000	11
35-44	1934	18		25,000	13
45-54	1206	11		12,000	6
55-64	524	5		7,000	4
65 and over	159	1		6,000	3
Total #	11,065	100%		196,000	100%

*THE HIRED FARM WORKING FORCE OF 1970, Economic Research Service, Report No. 201, March 1971

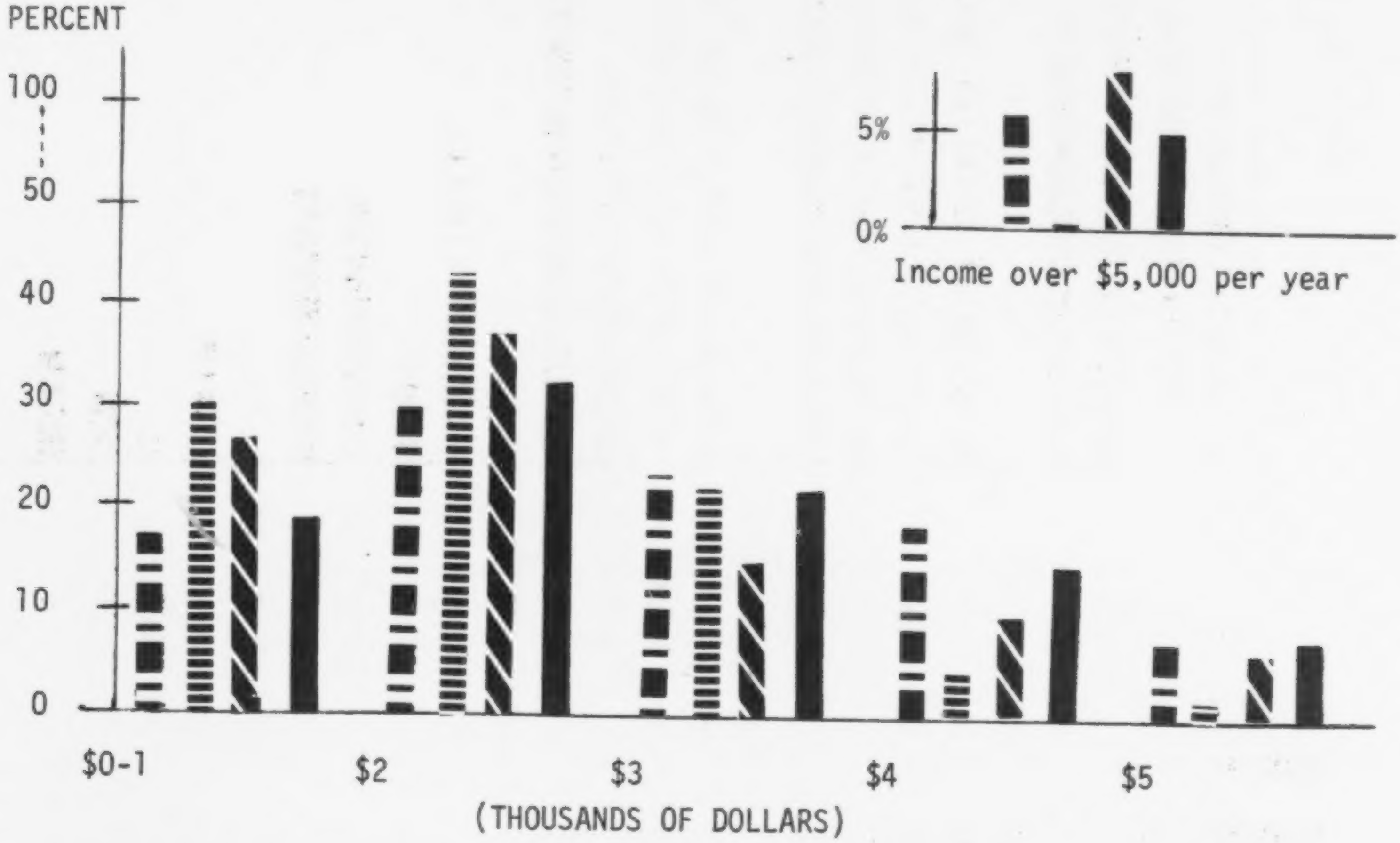
Average Annual Income by Migrant & Seasonal Farm Worker ethnic groups



Average Annual Income -- Received MRP-EFP vs. Ethnic Group



Average Annual Income -- Did Not Receive MRP-EFP vs. Ethnic Group



KEY:
- ▮▬▮ Mexican-American
- ▥ Black
- ▨ Other (Anglo, Puerto Rican, Indian, other)
- ■ Average group annual income

CHAPTER III - SEARCH FOR EMPLOYMENT

Migrancy by its definition denotes travel. However, little information has existed relative to how far, how long and where individual migrants go in search of jobs. **Travel patterns, established in the 1940's and 1950's, and accurately and predictably mapped out by the U. S. Department of Labor's Farm Labor Service, have now been abandoned.** No longer can the U. S. Department of Labor predict where groups will go nor in what numbers. For that matter no one else, including the migrants, can give advance notification as where they will travel.

The declining job market has established an erratic – even neuratic – travel pattern.

Mexican-Americans from Texas now work in the Carolinas, New Jersey, New York, Virginia and other East Coast stream states. Black migrants show up in Indiana, Wisconsin, and other Mid-West stream states.

MRP interviews with growers revealed that they recruited from 16 states,[1] Mexico and Puerto Rico. The number of states utilized as a recruitment base by growers expands as time goes on; and migrants futilely run to be in the right spot at the right time. Yet, those in the sampling last year, more often than not, ended up working in the same area of the country as they had the year before.

By far the majority of the 86 growers who responded to the recruitment question recruited from the state of Texas. Florida and Arizona were the next 2 states most frequently listed.

MRP asked the migrant workers several questions related to job-seeking. Two of them were: "In how many states have you worked this year?" – "In how many states have you looked for work?" More than one-half of the 3,739 migrant families responding to the questions looked for, or worked in more than one state.

Those workers who were employed at the time of the interview were more willing to provide information than those who were not. Moreover, Mexican-Americans were more willing to answer questions than were Blacks. Of the employed group, only 4% of Mexican-Americans did not answer questions pertaining to where they had sought employment while 18% of the Blacks refused to answer.

Of those unemployed, 31% of the Mexican-Americans did not answer questions and 54% of the Black Americans did not answer.

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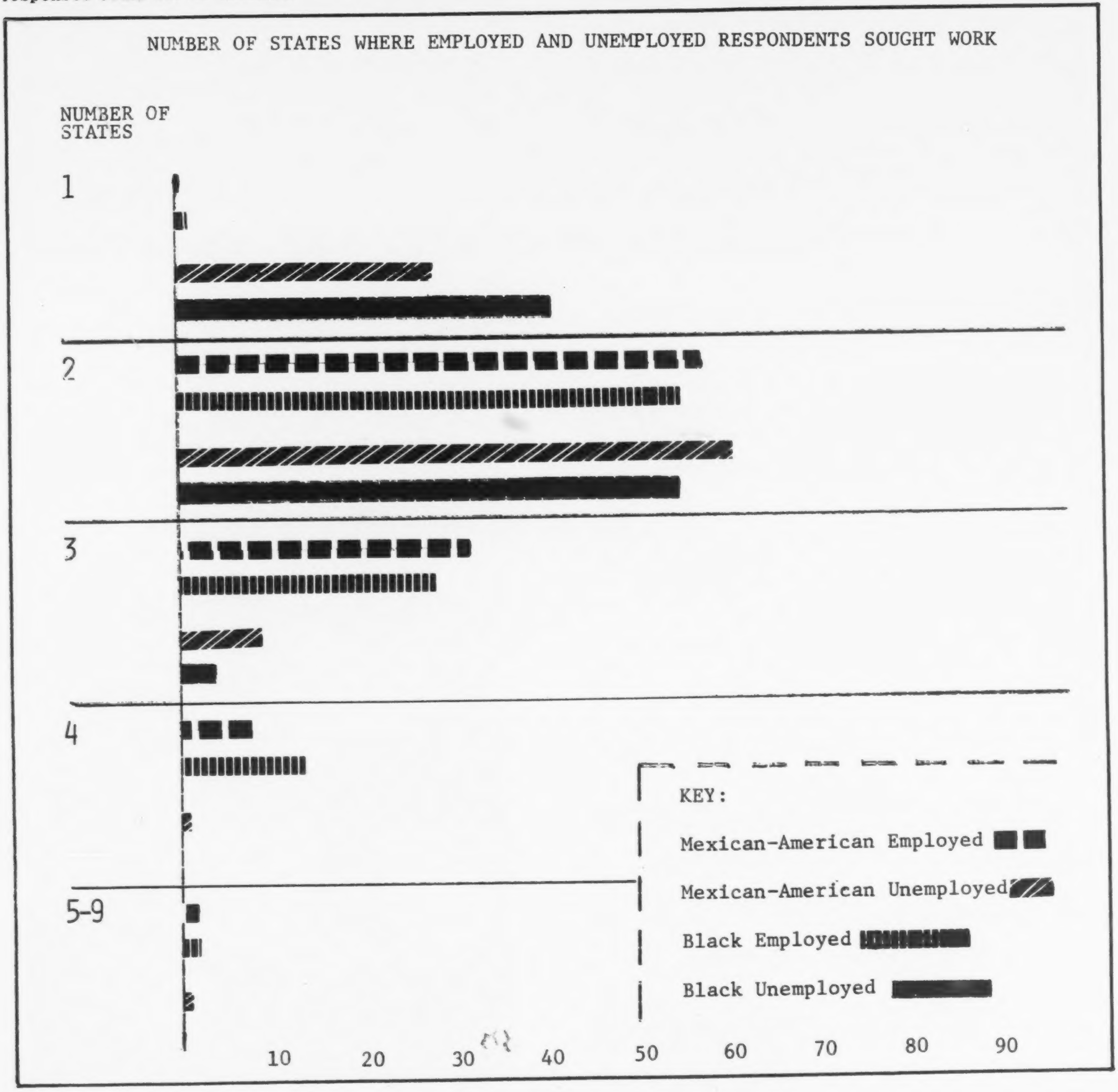
[1] Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Mexico, Puerto Rico and Texas.

The accompanying chart shows the percent of Mexican-American and Black migrants who sought work in more than one state. Responses are recorded both for those who were employed at the time of the interview and those who were unemployed.

The chart indicates that the Mexican-American migrant in the study traveled to more states in search of work than did his Black counterpart. However, the number of Black migrants interviewed was a much smaller sampling. MRP believes that the small size of the sampling was due to two causes. **In one state, when interviewers from the research group attempted to talk to the migrants (Black) they were ordered off the property at gun point. Later they were requested to come into the camps. Once there, the crew leaders forced the interviews to be held while monitored by the crew leaders.** Obviously, these responses could not be included.

The second reason for the small size of the Black sampling, MRP believes to be due to the fact that the migrant oriented agencies, with whom MRP cooperated in the study, are not reaching the Black migrants in their work areas. Relatively few of them have Black workers on their staffs. More importantly these agencies did not provide food assistance to hungry Black migrants in relationship to the percentage of Black population in their program areas. In recent years, particularly in the West and Mid-West, there has been a tendency to employ Mexican/Americans as directors of these agencies. This may in part explain the high percentage of Mexican/Americans fed in those states with dual Mexican/American and Black populations. In addition the majority of them — now five years in existance — follow the same pattern of work done in the first year. At that time there were few Black migrants in their regions.


NUMBER OF STATES WHERE EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED RESPONDENTS SOUGHT WORK

The average migrant traveled in a crew of 34 persons and returned to the same geographic area to work. However if he were Mexican/American in 54% of instances he did not work for the same grower he worked the previous year. Black migrants in 57% of the sampling worked for the same grower. It would appear that Mexican/American migrants seemed to have a bit more freedom in negotiating with employers or had more job opportunities than did the Blacks. This ability by the Mexican/American migrant to freely change employers seems to be borne out by the increased income earned after the third year in the stream.

While working in the stream, the majority of migrants lived in either farm labor camps (30%) or homes on a grower's farm (34%). Of the 70% who answered the question on job perquisites, 57% of the Mexican/Americans indicated they were provided with free housing. A larger number of Blacks indicated they were not furnished free quarters. Only 48 migrant families lived in quarters rented annually from a grower; 82 rented their own homes; and 32 owned their own homes.

The manner in which migrants are recruited are many and varied. MRP research revealed some interesting statistics concerning recruitment. The attached chart shows the process by which migrants believed they had been recruited and the process through which growers believed they had employed workers. **Note that 54% of Mexican/Americans stated they had not been recruited before leaving their homebase. On the other hand, only 41% of the Black population were freewheelers. Of the total MRP research sample only 38% received job promises before leaving their home state to work in the 1970 season.**

	Migrant Respondents			**Grower Respondents**
	Black (205)	**Mex/Am** (1970)	**Adult Ed** (315)	(70)
Recruited	54%	37%		
Freewheelers	41%	**54%**		
Recruited by*				
grower	11%	36%	46%	36%
crew leader	75%	40%	27%	23%
state emp. agency	-0-	-0-	-0-	24%
recruiter	4%	12%	17%	11%
friend	9%	7%	5%	-0-
other	-0-	4%	5%	5%

*35% of Mexican/American and 47% of Black Americans answered the question.

MRP crew leader interviews, discussed more fully in the next chapter, indicated that 79% of them acted as recruiters for their employers. The employers of 77% of the crew leaders were private growers. The growers, however, state they utilize crew leaders as recruiters only 23% of the time. They also said they used the State Employment Service. **The total of these two grower responses is equal to the 77% recruitment that the crew leaders claim.**

What did the migrant workers tell MRP? **Overwhelmingly, 100%, stated they did not use the State Employment Service!** Black respondents stated that 75% of them were recruited by crew leaders. Mexican/Americans stated they were recruited 52% of the time by crew leaders and recruiters (synonymous terms), and 11% by friends or someone not listed on the questionnaire. **This accounts for 63% of their recruitment.**

MRP believes that the difference in the grower — crew leader — migrant statements in regard to the Employment Service can be explained by a closer look at the recruiting practices of the State Employment Services.

In one of the major homebase states, it is the custom for the state employment service to provide office space to crew leaders recruiting workers. The migrants interviewed under these circumstances and referred by the receptionist to the crew-leader/recruiter, think they are employed by crew-leader/recruiters rather than by employment service personnel. In addition, state employment service personnel frequently accompany crew leaders into the homes of workers for recruitment purposes. The employment service then notifies growers that recruitment has been accomplished and takes credit for the given number of job placements for budgetary and recording purposes. **Budgets for state employment agencies, as well as for other public agencies, depends to a large degree on numbers served.** The grower who has sent the order for workers to the employment service thinks he has utilized the public agency.

Growers responding to the MRP survey employed an average of 56 workers each, slightly less than the 57 workers each they employed in 1969. At the same time, they employed an average of 41 local day workers each. This also was less than the 65 local day workers they reported employing, on the average, in 1969.

Recruitment Promises

Growers, canners and processors generally keep their promises to migrant and seasonal farm workers according to participants in Adult Education programs and migrants in general. The table below indicates the number of fringe benefits promised and promises not kept from both populations.

Adult Education Participants
(Total Population 513 families)

Benefits	Number of times promised to migrants	Number of times denied to migrants
A certain rate of pay	222	6
Free housing	258	6
Free electricity	246	7
Free transportation	133	7
Federal food stamps	59	4
Free cooking gas	181	2
Free heat	164	2

MRP Research Sample
(Total Population 3,974 families)

Certain amount of work	605	4
Certain rate of pay	805	3
Free housing	883	6
Free transportation	528	3
Food credit	262	4
Federal food stamps	163	1

Migrant heads of families participating in Adult Education programs lost a total 8,952 work days during the 1970 harvest due to inclement weather, crops not ready for harvesting and because of illness and other reasons.

Bad weather	2,851 days
Crops not ready	4,025 days
Sick or injured	1,138 days
Other reasons	938 days
	8,952 days lost (513 families)

Projected in terms of the MRP research population interviewed during the 1970 harvest season, this would indicate that 71,616 work days were lost by migrant heads of families during the last harvest season. The total farm worker income lost can be estimated at $393,172.00. Put another way, MRP estimates that 196 work years were lost to the migrants during the 1970 harvest, and for which they received no pay.

Of the 80% of the survey population who could not find work after they finished working in the harvest, the length of time they were unemployed is as follows:

From July 1970 to January 1971	8% unemployed
From August 1970 to January 1971	19%
From September 1970 to January 1971	19%
From October 1970 to January 1971	23%
From November 1970 to January 1971	21%
From December 1970 to January 1971	4%
More than 6 months	6%
	100%

CHAPTER IV - DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Among Mexican-Americans, 1% of the respondents had families consisting of 14 members and above. Included in this figure were 2 families of 19 members and 14 families of 14 members.

There was one black family of 19 members and one each of 14 and 15 members.

The average family size of the total population interviewed was 6.4%.

It is of interest to note that 91% of the Chicanos interviewed traveled with their families and 96% of all of them interviewed had families. In contrast, only 50% of the Blacks traveled with their families and 86% had families. This again indicates that Blacks, much more often than Chicanos, leave their families at home while trying to earn a living.

The average age of the 23,988 individual participants for whom there was sufficient data was 16.85.

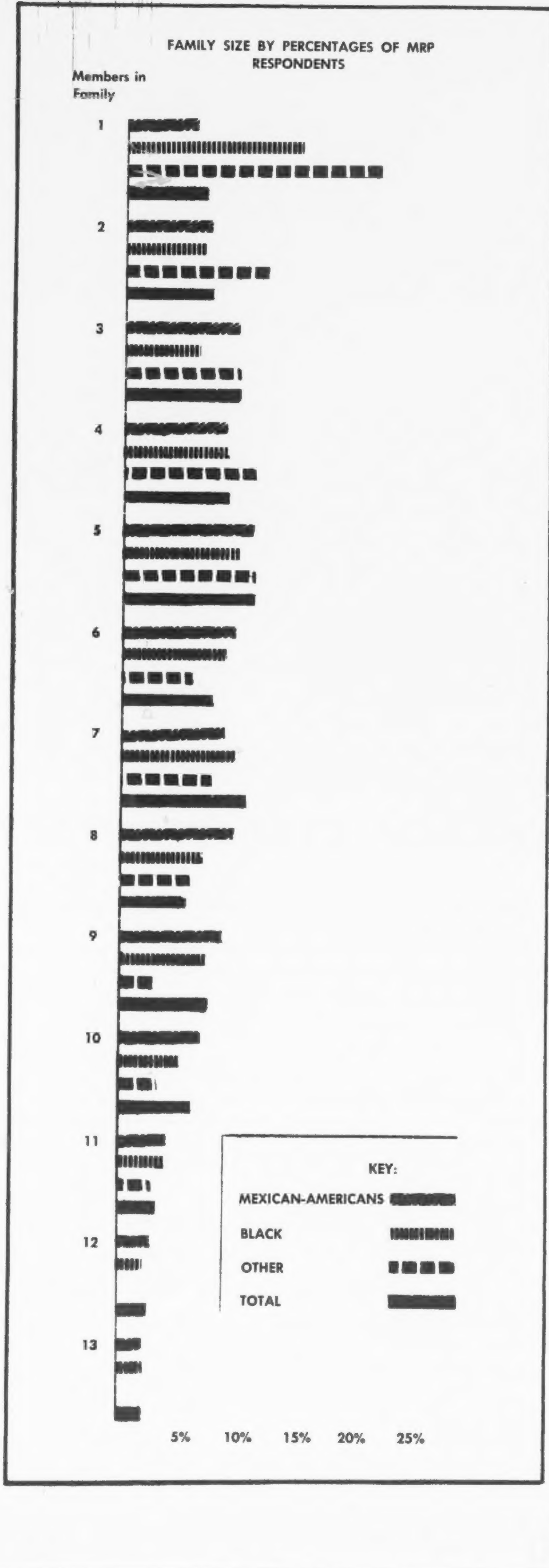
In a later chapter on mechanization, MRP projects optimum mechanical harvesting within five years of most of the crops migrants have worked in the past. MRP, however, cannot predict that migrants will stop traveling within the next 5 years. Since farm labor is the only saleable skill migrants possess, they cannot do so unless education and work programs are immediately developed to assist them. It therefore behooves the nation to take a hard look at what lies ahead for the migrant child.

Number of Years in the Stream
(3974 families)

Years	Mex./Am.		Black		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1 – 5	677	37	94	41	52	49	823	39
6 – 10	405	22	36	16	17	16	458	21
11 – 15	326	18	25	11	17	16	368	17
16 – 20	174	09	32	14	9	08	215	10
21 – 25	137	08	15	06	4	04	158	07
26 – 30	36	02	12	05	1	01	49	02
31 – 35	47	03	5	02	2	02	54	02
36 and over	44	02	13	06	5	05	62	03
No Entry	5%		3%		1%		9%	

Family Members in the Stream

	Mexican American	Black	Other: (Puerto Rican, Indian, Anglo, Other)	Total Population
Yes	91%	50%	65%	85%
No	9%	50%	35%	15%
No Entry	8%	44%	34%	17%
Median Fam. Size	6	5	3	5
Ave. No. Workers per Fam.	2.3	2	2	2.3



It must be remembered that 63% of all migrants in the stream are 16 years or under. **Chances are 2 out of 5 that these children will travel in the stream for at least 5 years of their lives; and 1 out of 5 that they will travel for 10 years.** The Mexican/American child has almost **a 1 out of 5 chance to remain in the stream for 15 years!** For some children it means traveling year round. For the fortunate ones, travel will occur only in the summer months. For all, it means interrupted school attendance which frequently makes them wise beyond their years, and always keeps them grades behind their urban counterparts. At best, it will mean an erratic school attendance record which for most makes education a punishment rather than a learning experience.

Three percent of the total migrant population has been in the stream 36 years and longer! Some few have been there for 50 years. Of the adults who entered education programs this past winter and participated in the MRP research, 54% were realistic enough to know they would have to return to the field in the summer of 1971 in order to seek employment. The MRP adult education sampling also revealed that 25% of those interviewed had previously attended adult education classes. Of those currently enrolled in education courses, 80% were unemployed between the end of the harvest season (October to December, 1970) and the beginning of the adult education program in which they were enrolled at the time of the interview. Migrants revealed they often enrolled in adult programs as a way to maintain their families during the long winter of unemployment. They found the programs of too short a duration to provide sufficient skills to enable them to enter the job market at a sufficiently high level to move beyond entry level. This made them most vulnerable to any lay-offs.

Small doses of education given at night during the off-harvest season will not equip a man for work other than stoop labor. The reason migrant adult education programs are held only at pre-and post-harvest times is to ensure sufficient field workers for the growers. **It does not seem to matter that jobs during the harvest season are becoming fewer and shorter; nor does it matter that a representative of a major grower-canner-processor (H. J. Heinz Company) admits his company only recruited workers "to back up the machine." Why can't the nation provide full-time schools for this displaced population since they must act as unpaid, unemployed employees recruited to back-up machines which do not fail?**

"My brother says he doesn't know ...."

—From CHILD OF HOPE.

AGE BREAK-OUT

SAMPLING – JULY - DECEMBER, 1970

Ages	Mex.-Am.		Black		Other		Total Population		Ages for:
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1 yr. or less	1592	09	526	13	93	11	2213	09	Group care of infants
2 thru 5*	2501	13	627	15	131	15	3259	14	Day Care
4 thru 5*	1249	07	309	08	72	08	1622	07	Headstart
6 thru 12	4807	26	1206	30	189	21	6218	26	Elementary School
13 thru 16	2639	14	574	14	96	11	3316	14	Secondary School
17 thru 18	1065	06	168	04	34	04	1269	05	Final two years of high school
19 thru 22	1210	06	150	04	66	07	1427	06	Through College Age
23 thru 30	1249	06	199	05	94	11	1545	07	Young adults
31 thru 40	1503	07	234	06	75	04	1820	08	
41 thru 50	553	03	181	04	72	08	1578	07	
51 thru 60	121	–	115	03	23	03	693	03	
61 thru 65	55	–	47	01	01	–	171	–	Retirement Age
61 and over	69	–	51	01	06	–	126	–	
Total	18,632		4,077		883		23,643		
Did not answer	(01% of total population)						345		
							23,988		
*4 year olds	650	04	161	04	40	05	848	04	
*5 year olds	599	03	148	03	32	04	774	03	

SAMPLING – NOVEMBER 1969 - JULY 1970

									No Ethnicity		
1 yr. or less	1231	06	152	05	99	06	1803	06	321	12	Group Care of infants
2 thru 5*	3462	16	463	17	287	16	4584	16	372	14	Day Care
5 thru 6*	1670	08	234	08	134	08	2174	07	136	05	Headstart
7 thru 12	4840	21	697	25	327	19	6210	21	346	13	Elementary School
13 thru 16	2974	13	384	14	146	08	3686	12	182	07	Secondary School
17 thru 18	1238	06	143	05	77	04	1529	05	71	03	Final two years of high school
19 thru 22	1577	07	94	03	133	08	1895	06	91	03	Through college age
23 thru 30	1756	08	148	05	200	11	2215	07	113	04	Young adults
31 thru 40	1798	08	240	08	166	09	2351	08	147	05	
41 thru 50	1477	07	160	06	154	08	1888	06	97	03	
51 thru 60	698	03	123	04	46	03	926	03	59	02	
61 thru 65 and above	388	02	95	03	50	03	1411	05	878	32	Retirement Age
Total	22243	75	2806	09	1755	06	29546	100	2742	09	
*4 year olds	845	04	99	04	153	09	1097	04	76	03	
*5 year olds	866	04	127	05	135	08	1128	04	71	02	

Of this number 2,213 were 1 year of age or younger; and 63% were children of 16 years or less. Two percent were 60 years of age or older, which leaves 65% of the migrants in the stream consisting of the very young or the old.

Year-Round Adult Education

It was not the purpose of the Migrant Research Project to evaluate the effectiveness of the adult programs in altering the vocational pattern of migrant workers. The measurement of the success of these agencies in enabling adults to complete high school and pursue job training leading to employment outside of agriculture was not within the scope or intent of this research project.

It is possible however, from MRP's association with the agencies who cooperated in the administration of the adult education questionnaires to make some limited observations about these programs.

It is important to bear in mind that the ingredients necessary to bring about behaviour modification in adults (if that is the intent of these programs) are not always possible for the agencies administering the programs. This barrier is caused by funding restrictions imposed at the federal and state level. Adult programs must have the ability to provide basic education, training opportunities, incentives, and necessary social services – all of which must be related to economic development and available housing – if meaningful employment and self-sufficiency are to result. MRP did not observe any programs with this capability.

MRP staff informally interviewed directors and teachers of migrant adult education programs in 9 states. Respect of each director and teacher for the migrant student was obvious as was his enthusiasm for the student's progress. Yet, each director expressed a feeling of frustration and futility about the education program with which he was associated. All believed in the possibilities of the programs. Frustration was caused by budget limitations which: (1) forced the program to turn away students who wanted to attend the school; (2) severely limited the length of time the school could remain open.

The constant questions were: where could money be found to finance full-time educational programs for adult students who probably worked more diligently than any other students to get the most out of their classes; and why must migrant schools close down for the so-called migrant season when "everyone" knows there is less and less employment for migrants both in-season and out-of-season? Why must this group of citizens, already deprived of minimum health, clothing, shelter, social services, and public assistance be denied the one commodity – education – which could ease their problems? How long does the nation expect farm workers to remain docile under these conditions?

MRP interviewers did not have the answer, but they did promise to publicize the questions in the hope that an alert citizenery would try to find solutions. MRP strongly endorses the implied corrections stated in the questions.

It is the responsibility of the federal government to redefine the objectives and goals of its programs and within budgetary limitations place new priorities on the spending of these funds.

Average Annual Income of Migrants Who Worked in Selected States and Participated in the Adult Education Research	
Texas	$ 2,240
Michigan	2,504
Indiana	2,495
Florida	2,447
Minnesota	1,930
California	2,500
Washington	2,109

Compare With Migrants Who:	
Received MRP Assistance	$ 1,971
Did Not Receive MRP Assistance	2,180
Total Adult Education Population	2,336
MRP Research Sample (3974)	2,021
Old Form/New Form Average	1,688

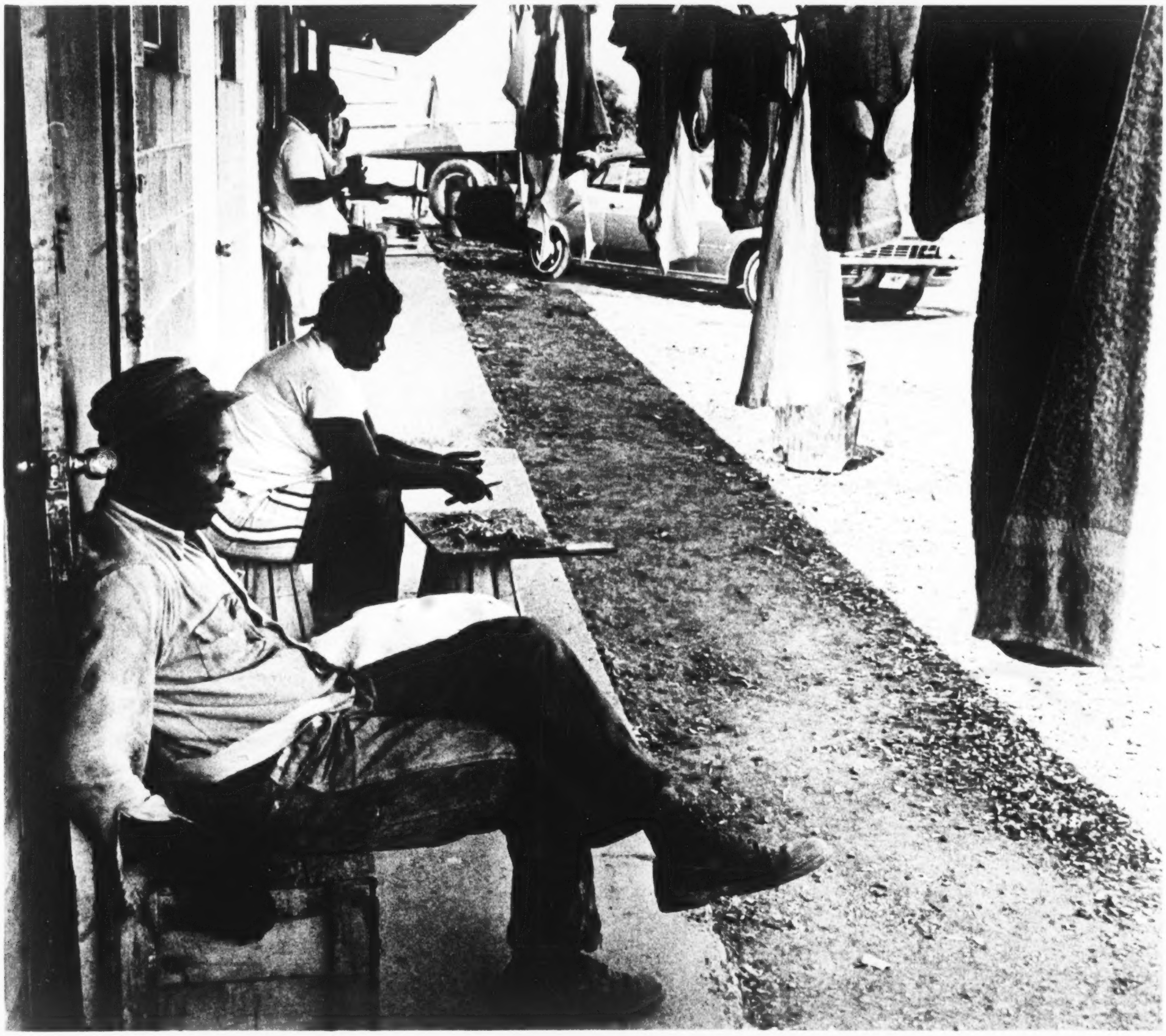
Students of Migrant Adult Education Program filling out interview forms at Laredo, Texas.

Students were assured that their answers would be held in confidence. In one of the schools, the students brought the completed MRP interview forms to the airport to hand deliver them to the MRP interviewer. In this way privacy of their answers was ensured.

In another school all names were omitted from the forms.

Students in Adult Education Programs have the same demographic, social and economic charteristics as do other migrants.

A Migrant is a Migrant



CHAPTER V - GROWERS AND CREW LEADERS

There were 69 crew leaders included in the MRP research. Of this number, 50 worked for farmers, 12 for processor-canners, 2 for a migrant group and 1 was a labor contractor. There was an average response of 90% to questions by the crew leaders. By far the majority continued to work for the same grower each year and to recruit for him. Each handled only 1 crew with the majority having 11-19 members in their crew. Most of the workers had been members of the same crew in previous years. All workers in each crew were recruited from one state in the majority of instances.

Private automobiles are the method most often used in the interstate transportation of migrants. Crew leaders reported privately owned autos were used 70% of the time and trucks 16% of the time. The crew leaders agreed with the migrants that the cost of transportation was generally absorbed by the workers.

The research did not allow for comparative analysis of individual responses of grower vs. crew leader vs. migrant on this issue. Therefore, it is inappropriate to compare percentage of responses. It is sufficient to state that crew leaders reported migrants paid the cost of transportation in 59% of the crews while farmers absorbed this cost in 27% of the crews. The crew leaders provided transportation only 14% of the time.

Growers indicated in 33% of the interviews that they provided free transportation to workers. Only 395 migrants or 28% of the 1,405 who responded to the questions indicated they had received free transportation. However, only 3 migrants promised free transportation, indicated it had not been received.

Crew leaders reported that migrants in their crews did not work under a bona-fide contract. They were supported in this statement by the migrants. **Better than 50% of the workers indicated they had not been promised a definite rate of pay before joining a crew or accepting employment.**

Migrants working as contract workers in agriculture do not receive a bona-fide contractual agreement setting forth all conditions of their employment.

Presently there is no federal legislation which requires employers in agriculture to specify wages, hours, working conditions, the cost of meals and housing (if supplied and charged for), the length of the employment period, and a list of all items to be deducted from paychecks.

In the study conducted by MRP prior to June 1, 1970, only 807 out of 5,081 migrants stated they received pay slips when paid. Of those who did receive pay slips showing earnings, only 46% stated deductions were itemized. Only 4% stated they had contracts for work.

In most cases, social security was the only tax deduction made by employers. Of 96% of responses to the question, 85% indicated a deduction for social security was made from the worker's pay. Better than 50% indicated no other tax deductions were made. Interestingly enough out of a 94% response to the same question, **61% of the crew leaders indicated they kept the payroll records on members of their crews.**

The question for whom the migrant works has been widely disputed. In some instances, notably pickles, migrants are considered by many — including migrants themselves — to be independent contractors. There seems to be general agreement in this one instance by government, processors and growers.

In other types of field work confusion reigns. The picture is muddied by the fact that canner/processors frequently recruit workers, advance them money against possible job earnings for transportation costs, including maintenance of private autos or trucks, place them with certain growers for housing, supervise their work load in that they determine when which fields will be worked, and sometimes pay them. In other instances where all of the above might occur, pay sometimes is issued by crew leaders and sometimes by the grower. It is possible for a worker to remain in the same crew all year and receive pay for some work from the canner/processor; pay at another location from the grower and pay at still another location from the crew leader.

MRP studies show that 1 out of 12 canner/processors paid workers directly, 11 of 12 crew leaders paid workers in 53% of the cases.

Because of this confused picture, law enforcement agencies frequently are hesitant to place responsibility on either the canner/processor, the grower or crew leader for wage violations, social security deductions and payments, housing conditions, etc. The migrant pays the penalty.

Few national labor laws cover agricultural workers. Most laws enacted at that level exempted agriculture when the laws were originally passed. Those laws, later amended to include agriculture, have expanded the law for inclusion but have not delineated ways in which problems faced by agricultural workers can be solved. The paucity of federal legislation, even those laws so amended, offers little or no protection to the agricultural worker.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, amended, now includes agricultural workers, under certain conditions, for minimum wage coverage of $1.30 per hour. However, when we can't determine who the employer is, it is difficult to enforce the law. Social security for agricultural workers applies only under certain conditions, also. Here, again, it is imperative to determine the employer. Methods now used for pay issuance in agriculture by their very nature, by-pass the law and exclude the workers from participating in coverage.

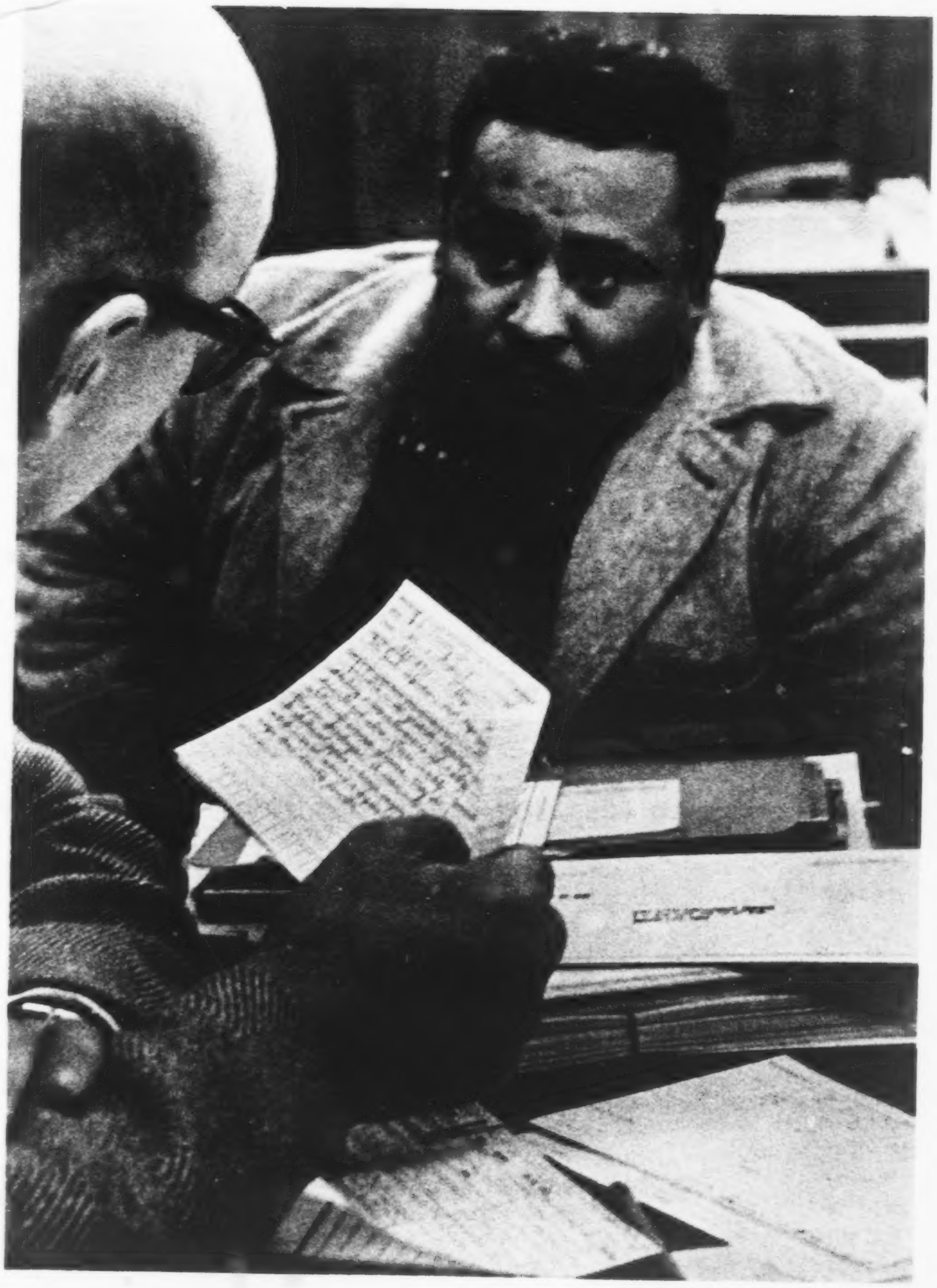
State legislators have done even less well for agricultural workers than the federal legislature. However, some states have passed legislation in 1969 and 1970 which, if enforced, can aleviate some of the problems.

It is interesting to note that the federal legislature's interest in agriculture, **per se**, goes back to 1839 when Congress appropriated the first tax money — $1,000 — to collect and distribute seeds and to compile statistics. From that date to the present, the tax dollar has been used in increasing astronomical amounts to serve canner/processors, growers, the earth itself and now the machines. Statistics are available on almost any issue affecting or effected by agriculture except the workers — their number, their health conditions, their location, their wages or other vital issues affecting their lives.

We can state that had the life of the worker been improved as much as the use of the soil was improved, agricultural work today would be the most lucrative work available.

Minnesota

Water to irrigate the fields is plentiful. Water for the worker is NOT available. In the above picture, thirst overcame fear and the worker drank from the drainage ditch.



> *It might be well to state at the outset that the future of the seasonal agricultural migrant and his dependents is no future at all. That is, within the next few years the migrant population, as we know it, will be substantially changed in both function and status . . .*
>
> *. . . What I speak of is a striking change that will diminish greatly the numbers of migrant workers. Their 'special skills' will not be in great demand for, in truth, they do not have any 'special skills,' and, if helping professionals meet them again, they shall be met as ex-migrants living out their lives as dregs in the shameful corners of deprivation of our country which are termed urban ghettos*

*Colvin, Charles Leroy, berry grower, member of National Health Advisory Board to U.S. Public Health Service.

WHAT NOW?

(Photo from Child of Hope)

CHAPTER VI - MECHANIZATION - THE DISPLACEMENT OF MIGRANT AND SEASONAL FARM WORKERS

The last half of the 20th Century will undoubtedly be referred to as the beginning of the "era of science and technology." Certainly the agriculture industry is playing an important part in this history making epic. Scientific farming—or what is more commonly referred to as mechanization—has wrought innovations which have made it possible to produce more food at less cost to the grower and processor. At the same time, mechanization has taken many jobs away from people who have for years worked the soil and it has caused serious economic and social stress on small farm owners.

The need of agriculture for short term stoop labor made the migrant a significant factor in the economic structure of agriculture across the nation. In recent years, mechanization on farms and in food processing plants utilizing temporary farm workers—migrants—began systematically displacing them. Clearly, as mechanization approaches 100% in the fruit and vegetable industry, the human resources displaced by these machines must be planned for with a degree of concern equal to that which created the new technology.

The problem of economic displacement of migrant

farm workers—as well as the small food producer—must become a national concern.

The United States Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare continuously creates a subcommittee to examine, investigate and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to migratory labor. The current chairman is Adlai Stevenson III of Illinois. Various departments of the federal government also have vehicles to study and solve farm and farm worker problems. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has been active since 1862 in developing and administering programs to keep small, family-sized farms from going out of business. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare created the Migrant Health Branch under the U. S. Public Health Service to assist communities where migrants travel meet health needs of migrants. It also administers educational programs for migrant children and adults under the Office of Education and the Office of Child Development. The Office of Economic Opportunity funds migrant emergency food and medical assistance grants, self-help housing, migrant stipended adult education programs, grants for research, such as the one received by the Migrant Research Project, and others.

However, for the most part federal activities lack coordination and have failed to address themselves to the long term dire social and economic effects mechanization is having on the total agrarian population. The need still exists for more sophisticated and reliable research data and the development of research techniques to effectively plan a systematic procedure to accommodate this significant shift in the labor market.

No one can doubt the serious problem of migration from rural to urban areas. Scientific advances in the agricultural industry has, in large part, been responsible for this depressing phenomenom. Agricultural technology has taken place without adequate planning for those who are being displaced. MRP research on mechanization during the 1970 harvest season verified—almost without exception—the observations contained in the Annual Report for 1969. [13]These observatons concluded that during the summer of 1970 an "employment and hunger crisis would develop" and that "mechanization has had and will have a serious impact on the number of jobs available in 1970 in both the homebase states and in the stream states." In addition MRP predicted that more **migrants than in previous years would enter the migrant stream in 1970 and that fewer jobs would be made** available to them. The report went on to say that if poor weather or mechanization ". . . . further upsets an already chaotic labor market, the problems facing migrant laborers will be intensified many fold."

The prediction was amazingly accurate and was dramatically confirmed when President Nixon on March 15, 1971 took unprecedented action and declared South Florida a disaster area. The President considered the circumstances so serious that he allocated $2.5 million in unemployment funds and surplus commodities to help the farm workers.

In addition USDA officials gave the migrants a months' supply of free food stamps until unemployment checks could be distributed. A federal food distribution center also was set up in Homestead, Florida.

Migrant Research Annual Report of 1969

The Annual Report of the Migrant Research Project called mechanization "A Crisis Situation" with good cause. The evidence gathered by MRP during 1970 indicates that the process of mechanization is "on schedule." Technological advances and American "kno how" have made is possible for fewer workers to produ a greater abundance of foodstuffs than ever befor Small family farms have begun to be replaced by agr business. The United States Department of Commerc Bureau of Census in 1969 reported a decrease in th number of farms from 1959 to 1964 of more than one half milion while the average size farm increased fron 303 acres in 1959 to 352 acres in 1964.

At the same time the United States Department o Agriculture in 1969 reported a drop in farm population as follows:

Population	% of Total Population
1955—19,078 T	11.6
1960—15,635 T	8.7
1965—12,363 T	6.4
1968—10,454 T	5.2

For instance, one mid-west state (Iowa) reports that the preliminary farm census report shows the average size Iowa farm in 1969 was 247 acres. This represents an increase in seven acres over the 1968 average size farm. However, the number of farms in Iowa declined from 140,847 in 1968 to 136,604 in 1969. The number of people living on farms declined by nearly 16,000.

In addition, reduction in labor needs have been increased due to the recent more stringent enforcement of labor laws and housing codes at all levels of government —federal, state and county. The displacement of migrant farm workers has reached crisis proportions in the stream and homebase states.

The 1969 report went on to give some predictions as to what the migrant and seasonal farm worker would face as he entered the stream to seek employment in the 1970 harvest season. Not at all surprising (as this report is written after the harvest is over) is the fact that the predictions were accurate even though the projections were made on the basis of limited interviews with those associated with agriculture. For instance, MRP accurately predicted that:

1. farmers were doing their own recruitment in greater numbers than ever before;
2. growers were placing work orders with the federally funded Farm Labor Service for migrant workers while at the same time they had machines on hand to perform the same labor;
3. the number of available jobs was less than ever before; and
4. unless remedial steps were taken immediately, more migrant workers would enter the stream this year (in 1970) than in the past several years due to lack of employment in the homebase states.

Regional Interagency Migrant Coordinating Committee

Subsequent to the last projection above the Chicago regional office of the Department of Labor, Farm Labor Service, established the Regional Interagency Migrant Coordinating Committee to assist agricultural states in working with migrants. Representatives on the Committee included the following agencies of the Federal government: U.S. Department of Labor, Department of Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Department of Transportation, Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The Departments of Defense and Agriculture were requested to join them. The Chicago regional office of the Department of Labor also cooperated with the Texas State Employment Service to alert migrants not to leave Texas without a definite job promise; developed a special daily reporting system in each mid-continent state to deter-

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(13)—Npp—5-11

mine the amount of surplus farm labor available; and encouraged the governors of each state in the region to accept "self-declaration of income" from migrants for certification for food stamps for the first thirty days issuance.

Based upon interviews with local, state and federal government officials as well as migrant workers in the midwest region of the United States and in Texas, during and after the 1970 harvest season it appears that many migrant farm workers did not enter the stream unless they had a definite job offer. Nevertheless, there was an over supply of labor. The 1970 harvest season was characterized by lack of jobs, food and housing, with seemingly as many migrants in the stream as in previous years, lack of responsiveness to migrant needs by public agencies, shorter work periods and very little difference in wages paid.

The Regional Interagency Migrant Coordinating Committee now predicts that 1971 will equal or surpass 1970 as a difficult year for migrant workers.

The Committee states:

> "The migrant farm workers exists in an intolerable situation. Two factors create this condition. The impact of technological changes and the inadequacy of our institutions to respond have made it impossible for the migrant to take his rightful place in America. Fewer migrant workers are required each season because of rapid mechanization and new technology.
>
> Society is not geared to accommodate farm workers on the move. Migrants are too often denied services normally provided for permanent residents. Racial and economic discrimination further alienate migrants from the community. Because of the unique interstate nature of the migrant problem, the federal government has a special responsibility to create solutions."

"The Vanishing Migrant"

1970 Trends Toward Total Mechanization

The information obained from the limited research on mechanization conducted by MRP during the 1969 harvest season led to the development and execution of several survey questionnaires to determine the degree of awareness among agriculturally oriented groups about the actual social and economic effects caused by the steady increase of mechanized farming. Questions concerning mechanization were included in the MRP migrant questionnaire, crew leader questionnaire, adult education survey and the questionnaire for growers-canners-processors. Several in-depth interviews were conducted with growers and processors in the sugar beet, fruit and vegetable industries and with U.S. Department of Agriculture County Agents in an effort to determine a more precise timetable for total mechanization in the farming industry. Also, a special mail questionnaire was developed to ascertain opinions of state, local and diocesan representatives of the U.S. Catholic Conference Department of Social Development —the Urban Life Division, Rural Life Division and the Midwest Region of the Spanish Speaking.

The Mechanical Migrant

Crew leaders interviewed by MRP in 1970 represented 2,205 farm workers, 1,102 families and 7,052 individuals. The majority of the crews ranged in size from 11 to 19 workers each.

The growers surveyed employed 4,836 workers, representing 2,418 families composed of 15,475 individuals. Major questions asked them about mechanization included the number of migrants and day workers hired in 1970, 1969, and 1968.

While the MRP sample size was not conclusive, an interesting break in the utilization of migrant labor vs. mechanization was observed in the grower survey. Growers who employed over 20 workers in 1970 - 1969 - 1968 recorded yearly reductions in the number of workers hired.

The small grower-employers of 20 or less migrants and 20 or less day workers — continued to hire or expand the number of workers utilized in 1970 over the previous 2 years. Those who hired over this number reduced the number of workers they employed in 1970, with the exception of employers of the largest number of workers. They indicated they hired a few more workers in 1970 than in either 1969 or 1968. One explanation for this could be that this is the group of employers expanding acreage by purchasing more of the small family farms which are so rapidly disappearing.

Another explanation of the seeming preference of small growers for the continued use of hand labor may be the large capital investment required for mechanization or the difficulty in securing low-interest long term loans. The establishment of small cooperatives for the purpose of mechanization of small farms is discussed more fully later in this chapter.

The majority of crew leaders expressing an opinion on mechanization stated that workers had less work in 1970 than in the preceding year (52%) and that the growers had more mechanical harvesters in 1970 than in 1969 (57%). Also, mechanical harvesters had increased in 1969 over 1968 (45%).

MRP research was so recorded that it is not possible at this time to correlate the answers of specific migrants with that of specific growers. It is interesting to note, however, that in the special survey of migrant workers attending adult education classes that 23% stated they had worked as operators of farm machines in 1970. This was an increase of 14% over 1969 which was an 11% increase over 1968.

While these figures indicate that more migrants per year are operating farm machines, they nonetheless remain seasonal workers. In this instance new found skills are not placing them in full-time or more lucrative jobs. Despite the percentage increase it must be remembered that the 23% represents only 118 workers. Nonetheless MRP believes that the sampling of migrants in the adult education program was typical of migrants in the stream in 1970.

MRP selected special geographic areas for study where mechanization of various types of crops is proceeding at an average rate of speed. Crops in one area include beets, tomatoes, and pickles. In other areas fruits, berries, beets, hops, and grapes were studied. The crops were selected both because they are typical of other crops being mechanized and because they are grown in areas where large groups of migrants are accustomed to travel.

Mechanization Comes to Northern Ohio[14]

The Ottowa Employment Committee, Inc., OECI, Ottowa, Ohio, is a growers' association partially supported administratively and financially by the Buckeye Sugar Company of Ohio. This organization represents approximately 596 sugar beet and tomato growers in a ten county area of northern Ohio.[15] According to the U.S. Senate 1969 report on Migrant Farm Labor Problems[16] the growers in these counties represent employers of 11,985 of the 32,583 migrants in Ohio—or approximately 1/3 of the migrant farm workers in the State.

Organizationally, the Buckeye Sugar Company's Plant Superintendent recruits migrant farm labor from Texas and assigns farm workers to each grower upon request. The sugar company is responsible for making payroll deductions and issuing earnings to the heads of families. The company also furnishes all housing, or it credits membership dues of each grower who has facilities to house migrant workers on his farm. Each grower pays $2.50 per acre per season to be a member of OECI. If a member grower owns housing facilities, he receives $2.00 per acre credit on his membership dues. In effect, such growers then pay 50¢ per acre per season for all the administrative details involved in maintaining housing facilities, recruiting and paying those migrants who work for him. The deficit for administering the services of OECI is borne by the Buckeye Sugar Company and is estimated by the company at $35,000 annually. All records of pay and payroll deductions to migrant farm workers are on file with the ASC Division, Sugar Branch, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Officials of OECI freely admitted that the recruitment pattern in the 10 county area of northern Ohio is significantly changing due to: 1) the almost total mechanization of sugar beet production, 2) the success of the tomato picker, and 3) recent introduction of an effective pickle picking machine. The only foreseeable stability in employment of migrant labor seems to be in the beet sugar processing plant. The requirements of 150 migrants in the factory—of which about 1/2 of the migrants are semi-skilled workers—is expected to remain constant for several more years. The continued demand for truckers to haul beets from the fields to the factory will also remain constant, or may very well increase the need for truckers because of increased production caused by mechanization.

The need for migrants to do field work, however, is fast becoming unnecessary due to the tremendous strides being made in scientific farming research. In 1968 and 1969 the Ottowa Employment Committee recruited 800 migrant workers from Texas; in 1970, they recruited 580 workers; and for the 1971 harvest season will guarantee employment to only 450 migrant farm workers in the 10 county area. The Committee expects to reduce the number of migrant farm workers recruited by approximately 1/3 each year until total mechanzation takes over the sugar beet growing industry and the 413 acres of tomatoes that are represented by the growers' association. **It can therefore be reliably predicted that by the harvest season of 1975 there will be no significant demand for migrant field laborers to work in the 12,354 acres of sugar beets represented by this 10 county area**

During the 1970 beet harvest season, OECI paid $30.80 an acre to field workers for blocking, thinning and two weedings. It was estimated by officials of the committee that a migrant family of four to six could work 54 acres in 15 days for a total gross income of $1,663.20. If the U.S. Department of Agriculture is accurate in its estimates that a migrant and seasonal farm worker has 120 days of employment in the fields each season, field work in Northern Ohio (family of between 4 and 6 members working) should bring an annual income of $13,305.60! There is absolutely no evidence anywhere that a migrant or seasonal farm worker makes this amount of money annually. In fact, MRP research during 1969 and 1970 harvest seasons, after interviewing more than 13,000 migrant worker families, reveals the average number of workers per family is 2 and the annual income of the migrant worker family in the summer of 1970 was $2,021.

The displacement of migrant farm workers in the 10 county area of northern Ohio studied during the 1970 harvest season was totally due to mechanization. A number of factors contributed to the overall reduction in the need for hand labor in the fields and produced a

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(14)—MRP is indebted to the following individuals who were cooperative in making this study of mechanization in Northern Ohio: Mr. Paul Russell, Plant Manager, Buckeye Sugar Co., Ottowa, Ohio; Mr. Norbert Erhart, Fieldman, Buckeye Sugar Co., Rt. 1, Ft. Jennings, Ohio; Mr. Lewis Klass, Grower and Owner of Leipsic Agriculture Supply, Inc., Leipsic, Ohio, and Mr. Eugene Klausing, farm owner and grower, Leipsic, Ohio. (Mr. Paul Russell also administers the Ottowa Employment Committee, Inc.)

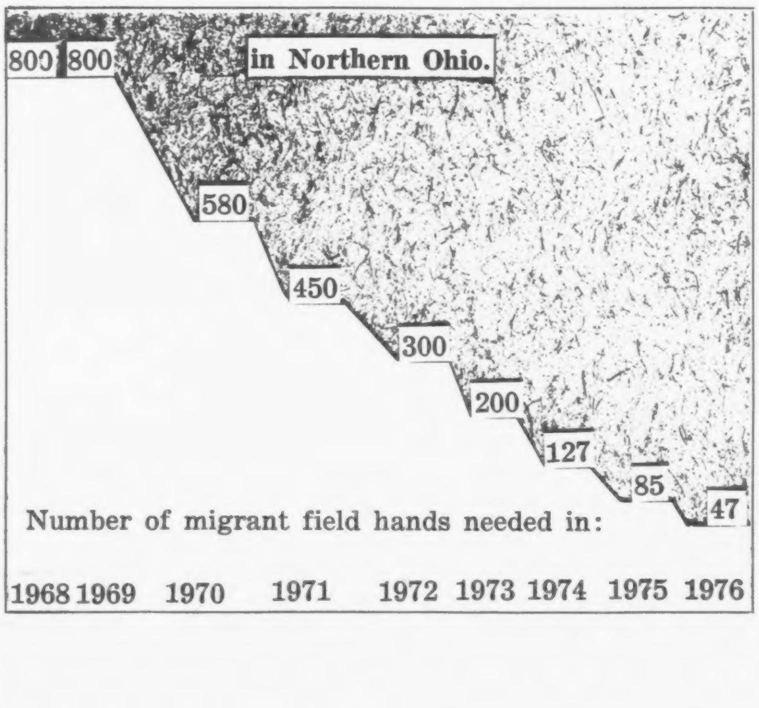
(15)—Allen, Defiance, Fulton, Hancock, Hardin, Henry, Mercer, Putnam, Van Werth, and Wood.

(16)—Appendix A, Report 91-83, 91st Cong., 1st Session.

typical pattern of what is to come in the way of mechanization in almost every agricultural crop in the United States.

1. The mechanical sugar beet lifter is now fully perfected and in operation: **There is no further need for hand labor to load or clean beets by hand.**
2. The mechanical sugar beet topper is now in full operation: **There is no further need for hand labor to top sugar beets prior to harvesting.**
3. Mechanical "space planting" is gaining great momentum and two techniques are now being used commercially: **There is very little need for hand labor to thin beets during the growing season.**
4. In conjunction with scientific "space planting", the mono-germ seed has been developed and since 1969 this seed has been available to all growers of sugar beets in the United States: **There is very little need for hand labor to thin beets during the growing season.**
5. The use of pre- and post-emergence herbicides has effectively reduced the problem of weed growth in sugar beet fields: **There is no further need for hand labor to weed during the growing season.**

A typical example of the displacement of the migrant farm worker in this part of Ohio was obtained from representatives of the OECI and verified from official committee records. In 1969, Mr.——[17] employed four migrant field laborers to work his 29-acre sugar beet field at a cost of $893.20. Prior to the 1970 planting season, Mr.—— decided to use the mechanical space planting technique and also to use a herbicide during the planting process and again after emergence of the seed. These two scientific growing ingredients reduced the need for hand thinning and hand weeding to such an extent that the three children and wife of Mr.—— were able to maintain the entire 29 acre beet field and at the same time carry on their own particular family responsibilities. As a result, four migrant farm workers were displaced, and Mr.—— required no outside farm labor during the 1970 harvest season.



Based on the 1970 price paid for field work it is easy to calculate that if field work pay remained stable, migrant and seasonal sugar beet field workers lost $380,503.20 in possible income during the last harvest season in the 10 county area in northern Ohio where this example took place.

(MRP's study of mechanization indicates that **new and stronger herbicides and pesticides will continue to be introduced in agriculture** to speed the planting, weeding and harvesting process of crops. Based on past experiences, where such products have been a health hazard of particular concern to the workers and families of workers coming in close contact with these chemicals, **MRP urges that the utmost care be used before Government authorizes the use of the new products.**

It is of grave concern to MRP and should be to the nation that seemingly stalling tactics by Government—time for study following study—allows hazardous products to continue in use despite their known effect on human life. **(Pollution of air, water and land has reached such high proportions today that there is no need to continue its expansion.)**

Mechanization of the Tomato Harvest

Within a radius of 12 to 15 miles of Leipsic, Ohio there are 6,000 acres producing tomatoes for the commercial market. During the last three harvest seasons (1970, 1969, 1968) there has been a demand for 4,000 adult migrant farm workers to pick the ripened tomatoes. As this demand for hand laborers was maintained, the mechanical tomato picker was being introduced and perfected in the area. In 1969 there were 7 mechanical pickers for the 6,000 acres of tomatoes and in 1970 four more pickers were available for harvesting the tomato crop. The 1971 harvest season promises to displace even more of the workers.

It is estimated by Mr. Lewis Klass, grower and owner of the Leipsic Agriculture Supply Company, Inc., Leipsic, Ohio, that there will be 17 tomato pickers in use during the 1971 tomato harvest. Presently, a tomato picker can harvest about 100 acres of tomatoes in one season. In 1970, 1,100 acres were mechanically harvested. The OECI estimates that it takes about 100 field workers to pick a 135-acre tomato field by hand. Therefore, every new mechanical tomato picker employed in the harvest will displace about 100 migrant farm workers. **If, as predicted, mechanization continues to increase by 1/3 each year—and there is no reason to suspect it will not—by 1975 the tomato harvest on large farms (125-150 acres) will be totally mechanized. This could mean a displacement of approximately 4,000 field jobs in only 3 or 4 years.**

There is another side to the story of mechanization in the tomato harvesting industry. The small farmer in this area of northern Ohio cannot afford the cost of mechanizing. (It is interesting to note here that the mail survey conducted by MRP among representatives of the U.S. Catholic Conference strongly verified this case study.) One such small farmer, grows 40 acres of tomatoes each year. He does not plan to mechanize his tomato crops until professional harvesters will contract the harvesting and use mechanical pickers. (There is ample evidence that this procedure is inevitable if one can visualize the present methods of harvesting wheat and small grain in the midwest. As the harvest season approaches, highways leading from Kansas north to Canada—through the heart of the Great Plains—are traversed by combines and their crews.).

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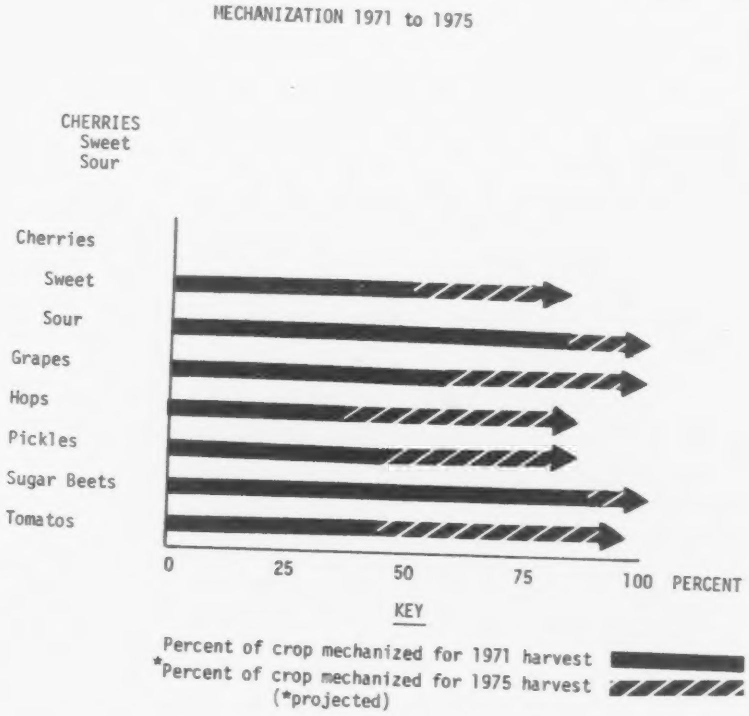
(17)—The identity of the sugar beet grower is kept confidential.

During the 1970 harvest season, Mr.——[18] employed 15 adult migrant workers to pick his tomato crop. He estimated that in addition to the workers, 15 teen-age members of the migrant families assisted in the harvest. He paid the field supervisor (crew leader) 17¢ a hamper for picking plus 2¢ a hamper for supervision in the field. Also, the crew leader received $3.75 a ton for loading and hauling the tomatoes two miles to the Libby processing plant in Leipsic, Ohio. The tomato harvest lasted seven weeks and his financial records revealed that he paid the farm workers through the crew leader a total of $14,974.70 (including the employer's share of social security). In addition, free housing, electricity, and cooking fuel was provided on the premises.

As further improvements are made in the mechanical tomato picker and in tomato plants that do not bruise easily, **displacement of migrant and seasonal farm workers for even the small tomato growers will be a reality.** MRP predicts this will occur **within the next four year period.**



The above chart indicates the known percent of mechanization for cherries, grapes, hops, pickles, sugar beets and tomatoes. It also shows MRP projections as to total mechanization in these crops within four years. **MRP further predicts that most other crops will have attained, as nearly as possible, the ultimate in mechanization within four to seven years.**

Mechanization of Pickles

A secondary crop, but nonetheless important to the 10 county area in Northern Ohio, is the growing of pickles. Several years ago the mechanical picker was introduced into the area and proved effective. Its use is increasing yearly. However, this method of picking pickles has not been financially worth-while because there are not enough pickles per vine to effectively reduce the production costs.

Purdue University, however, has experimented with a seed that produces an abundance of pickles on each vine. But until the seed is available in commercial quantity most pickles in this area will be picked by hand laborers. **There is no reason to doubt that within 5 years the pickle harvest will also be mechanized and therefore will displace additional migrant and seasonal farm workers.**

Cherries Mechanized in Michigan

During the study of the displacement of migrant and seasonal workers by mechanization in Northern Ohio one of the growers mentioned that one of his migrant farm workers had traveled to Michigan in search of work in the sour cherry harvest. The worker returned after a week stating that the cherry shakers had taken over so much of the harvest that he could not find employment. On the basis of this information, the MRP research staff visited Michigan to ascertain the validity of this information. It was found that use of the cherry picker had displaced many migrant and seasonal workers who had traveled north from Texas for many years to work in the cherry harvest.

According to one grower, he fully mechanized his sour cherry harvest in 1966. During the harvest season of 1965 he had employed 150 migrants to pick up his 90-acre crop of sour cherries. In the 1970 harvest season, this grower employed only 30 migrants to pick 30-acres of sweet cherries. Even those 30 farm workers are threatened with displacement within a couple of years due to the new chemical "ethyrol." This chemical substance is sprayed on the sweet cherries when they are almost ripe. It disintegrates the stem so the fruit will fall from the tree easily. Although the Food and Drug Administration has not cleared the chemical for commercial use, there is every reason to believe that this—or a similar stem distintegrating chemical—will be commercially available in the next few years. The grower interviewed was confident that further displacement of migrant hand labor was inevitable.

Onions in Arizona

Mechanization Across the Nation

During the course of the 1970 harvest season MRP staff visited all parts of the United States seeking information and impressions about the effect mechanization is having on the economic stability of the migrant and seasonal farm worker. Without exception, they found mechanization—or the threat of mechanization—displacing thousands of farm workers. Umemployment among this group is increasing at incredible speed. And, unfortunately, the efforts of government administration at all levels to successfully relocate, retrain and educate

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(18)—Mr.—— name is held in confidence by MRP.

members of this agrarian population, to make it possible for them to permanently leave the stream, has not kept pace with scientific farming methods. The result is continued hunger among migrants, need for public assistance to maintain families and a helplessness and hopelessness that ought to depress the entire nation.

A sample of the comments regarding mechanization of various crops in the agriculture industry follows:

Washington—The sugar beet and potato industry in the Columbia River Basin are moving toward total mechanization. The seasonal farm workers in this area are increasing the state welfare rolls because of the lack of jobs.

In the Yakima Valley harvesting of hops is fast becoming mechanized; the grape picker has almost totally displaced the seasonal farm worker in that area and unemployment of this group continues to increase.

Oregon - Idaho—The research division of the Utah, and Idaho Sugar Company has been tremendously successful in developing the mono-germ seed; belt planters, the electronic thinner and application of pre- and post-germination herbicides. Rowneat, Eptam and Treflan are effective and efficient methods of reducing the need for hand labor in the fields and are being implemented on most sugar beet farms. Amalgamated Sugar Company at Nepsa plans to drop migrant recruitment by 50% in 1971 due to new types of farm equipment.

California—Grape machines continue to displace migrant and seasonal farm workers at unprecedented rates.

Raisins are not as yet mechanized because of the high cost of dehydration machines.

Onions in Arizona

Mechanization of Boysenberries in California

The University of California has invented and successfully operated an experimental machine that harvests and instantly freezes boysenberries from the vine.

The machine, in first season tests, showed it could pick only 70% of the berries a hand picker harvests. However, **it nets 92% of the top-grade fruit a hand picker can harvest.** The high quality rate is possible because it picks and instantly captures the fruit's peak flavor. Because of this, its supporters claim, fruit damage is extremely low and with less juice and weight loss than with berries hand picked and hauled to a central freezing plant.

The $20,000 machine may help save California's fast-dwindling boysenberry industry. It is possible for the machine to have multiple use with other fruits. Its inventors forecast the day when the machine operating in a field or orchard could turn out frozen berries, peach halves, cherries, and even melon balls! The cull fruit and other wastes could then be turned back into the soil as organic fertilizer and at the same time eliminate garbage disposal problems at a central freezing-packing plant.

The picking machine shakes the boysenberries free of their vines and passes them through liquid freon freezant at a temperature of minus 21 degrees. **The berries come off the harvester clean, stem-free, and ready for packaging.** A feat that is never possible with hand pickers!

The in-field freezing actually cleans the fruit—particles of dust and dirt are removed from the berries as they move through the freezing solution. Once frozen they are graded and stored without damage. While the conditions under which the liquid freon can be used must be carefully controlled to avoid dangerous contact by humans, the use of the freezant in direct contact with the fruit has already been approved by federal food and drug authorities.

The key part of the pilot model is the shaker mechanism. Resembling a giant rectangular brush about 2x4 feet in size, it contains "bristles" made from steel rods covered with resilent plastic. In operation, the "brush" shakes loose the ripe berries which fall through the vines onto a conveyor. A stream of air blows away dried leaves, loose stems, and berry caps. The berries move off the convoyer into the liquid freezing solution and emerge frozen.

While the berry picking machine that cleans and fast freezes the harvested crop in one operation is still in the experimental stage, the ominous sound of another machine means further job losses for migrants.

Pickles in Wisconsin

Early indications are another 2,000 seasonal migrant jobs will be lost in 1971. A drop from 11,500 acres to 4,500 acres is forecast for 1971 in the cucumber industry. Migrants in Texas will be discouraged from entering the state without a prior job commitment. Every worker recruited through the State Employment Agency will get a copy of his job order to minimize disputes and misunderstandings which often occur over terms of employment. Copies of these orders printed in Spanish will also be available.

Iowa

Severe corn blight, and resulting thousands of dollars in crop damage during the 1970 crop season, is expected to bring a return to hand detasseling of thousands of acres of seed corn. The two weeks of employment in early July is expected to go to local youth.

A Major Industry Looks at Mechanization

In reply to an MRP letter requesting information, a major sugar company states:

> "Basically in today's market there are four thinners in use . . . The principal of all four are similar in that by sensing the plant—either a light beam or rod grounding system — actual reading of the number of plants takes place. Then through a preprinted circuit panel a prescribed number of plants are eliminated leaving single plants spaced as evenly as possible. I have sent pictures of three machines . . .
>
> "These thinners are having an impact on the usage of migrants in the sugarbeet crop. Since their major introduction in 1968, labor in our

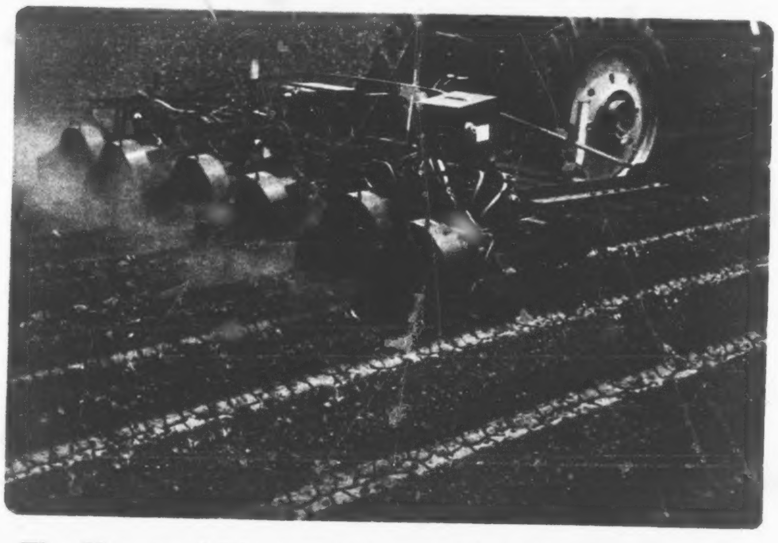
areas has been reduced by nearly 40 percent. It is the goal of the grower (although perhaps unfortunate for the migrant in the transition period) to have 100 percent mechanization in the beet crop. It appears this is possible within the foreseeable future . . ."

In its company publication,[19] the philosophy and orientation of the sugar beet industry is most emphatically stated:

> "With the economic pressures that exist in today's farming, it becomes imperitave to plan every operation with great care. It is obvious that elimination of hand labor in beets should be the uppermost goal. Investigations of new thinners and secondary tools should be made. More effort in the use of existing, approved herbicides should be made. More care, supervision and understanding should be used with those hand laborers that are necessary to employ in the interim before complete mechanization."[20]

There is little question in anyone's mind today that there are "economic pressures" existing in the farming industry. The cost-price squeeze in which the farmer is entangled is evident. However, that "elimination of hand labor in beets should be the uppermost goal" leaves the impression of a total lack of concern for the hand laborer who will be displaced by mechanization.

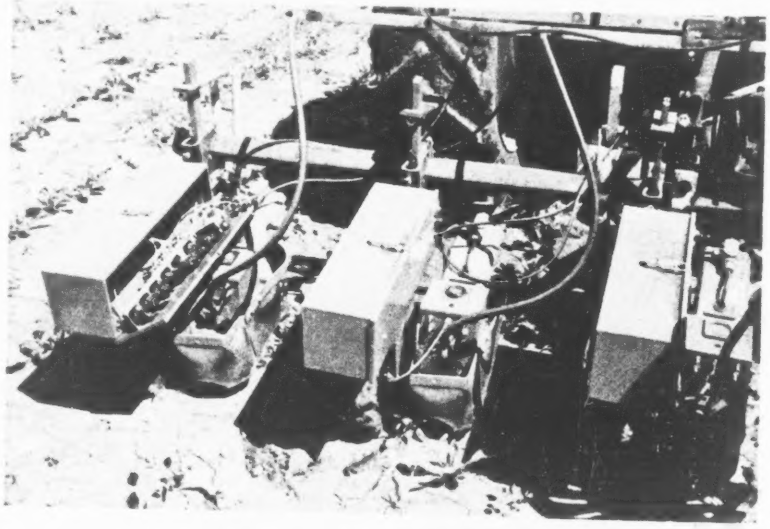
In fact, management appears to dissemeninate information giving the impression that even now the hand laborer market is diminishing and migrant and seasonal farm laborers are leaving the stream by the hundreds. Giving the impression that mechanization is the ultimate answer to lower production costs and therefore, more profits, is logical and understandable; but to encourage mechanization because of a "diminishing" labor market is not truthful. MRP research during the 1970 harvest season emphatically disputes such an impression.



The Monomat Electronic Sugarbeet Thinner in Action

For instance, in the Winter 1968-69 issue of **Crystal-ized Facts,** the following quote apepared:

> "What beet grower has not heard the following expression: One of these days there will be no hand labor and we'd better be ready with mechanization. Would you believe that within six years the available workers will have diminished to the point that the average beet worker will have to take care of at least 50 to 75 acres?"



Agron Electronic Sugarbeet Thinner

The diminishing labor supply is accounted for in the magazine by quotation of figures showing an estimated loss of about 22.5 percent of the sugar beet hand labor force between the 1967 and 1968 harvest seasons in those areas of North Dakota, Minnesota and Iowa where the American Crystal Sugar Company operates. The company maintains it lost 2,094 workers and compares this to a diminishing labor supply. Reading the table of explanation carefully[21] one can readily see that 453 workers were not wanted back to work in the harvest; 389 could not be located at their old address; 147 were prevented from returning because of illness; 138 did not reply to recruitment letters sent to their permanent address; 99 migrants had accepted employment with other companies; 83 were lost from employment because the family separated; 50 were unreliable or dishonest; and 23 were not accounted for because of miscellaneous reasons. None of these reasons for the loss of employees indicates a diminishing labor market. The only significant figures included in the loss statement appears to be that 670 found steady work and 43 migrant farm workers were not available for work because they had enrolled in government sponsored education programs.

It is a fact that the labor market for farm workers is declining; **it is also a fact that it is due to mechanization rather than a cause to mechanize!**

There are countless beneficial reasons why sugar beet and other crop growers should turn to mechanization: (1) the expanding world population demands more food; (2) the cost of production must be lowered if the small farmer is going to claim his fair share of the national income, and; (3) the inability to guarantee a certain margin of profit annually because of dependence on the natural environment. All these factors must be kept in mind when any attempt is made to stabilize the economy of the agriculture industry. But the human being who has devoted his life to farm work must also be accounted for by society as his livelihood is displaced by the machine.

Industry and organizations formed to protect the migrant and seasonal laborer must both find an answer

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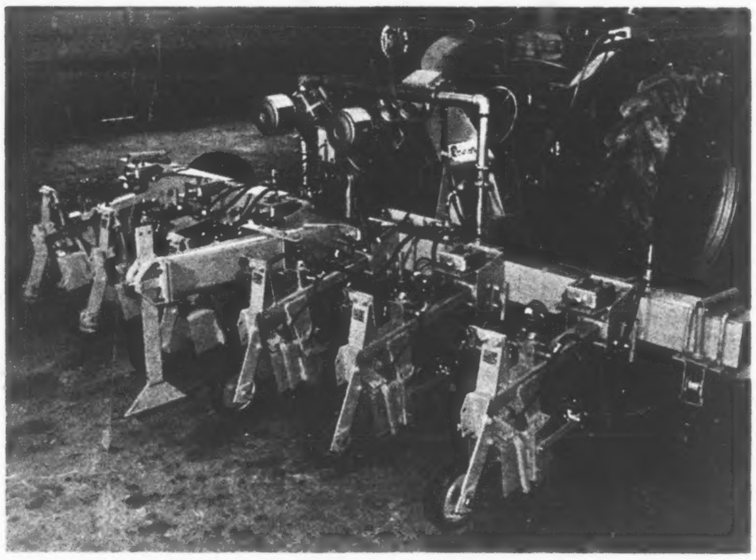
(19)—**Crystal-ized Facts**, American Crystal Sugar Co., Vol. 22, Winter 1968-69, No. 3; Vol. 24, Spring 1970, No. 1.

(20)—**Crystal-ized Facts** (American Crystal Sugar Co., Vol. 22, winter 1968-1969, No. 3, page 3.

(21)—p. 21, ibid

to the oversupply of farm workers due to mechanization. At the same time, both labor and management interests have an obligation to provide for the social and economic security of this group as they move out of the harvest stream into other jobs. Presently, however, MRP research indicates that the majority of migrant and seasonal farm workers must receive more adequate education to qualify for skilled jobs.

The argument is not that migrants should or should not get out of the stream and into other means of employment. Indeed recent figures from the Office of Economic Opportunity reveal that "some 11,000 farmworkers became ex-farmworkers . . ." through adult education programs during 1970.[22] The argument is not that mechanization is bad. The argument should surround effective vocational and rehabilitative training to migrant and seasonal farm workers and potential migrants in order to ssist them to leave the stream.



Evesman Six-row Selective Electronic Sugarbeet Thinner

Courtesy American Crystal Sugar Co., Denver, Colorado

The American Crystal Sugar Company is accurate in saying . . . "Most of these groups (migrant-oriented groups) are sincere and worthy even though their knowledge of the complicated society and agricultural picture may be somewhat lacking."[23] The lack of knowledge is not restricted to migrant action groups. Those interested in research in mechanization seem concerned only with efforts to grow better crops, reduce production costs and make it possible for the farmer to maintain his fair share of the national income. Growers, processors, etc., also must understand the adverse complicated social and economic effects their successful research is having on the migrant farm worker and his efforts to support his family. Unfortunately, figures reflecting the millions of dollars spent by the federal and state governments and firms in the agricultural industry, on research for mechanization are presently impossible to calculate. Also, it is impossible at the present time to accurately predict how many equal dollars are being spent by advocates of mechanization to help the migrant and seasonal farm worker find employment out of the migrant stream.

It may very well be accurate to predict that "one of these days there will be no hand labor", but it is misleading to add that a farm labor shortage will be due to the "availability" of workers. MRP migrant research, including interviews with many welfare workers in over 100 farming communities across the country, reveals some astounding facts:

1. Welfare rolls are increasing due to lack of employment for migrant and seasonal workers in the fields;
2. MRP emergency food money was in greater demand during the 1970 harvest season than ever before and due primarily to the unavailability of jobs in in the field caused by the introduction of mechanical harvesting machines;
3. More migrants entered the stream in search of farm work during 1970 than ever before;
4. Migrant and seasonal farm workers, incomes average $2,021 annually, and this includes the wages of all members of the family able to work;
5. The majority of migrant and seasonal workers participating in adult education programs during the winter months of 1970-1971 plan to return to the stream for the 1971 harvest season;
6. Lack of employment opportunities in their home-base states (usually Texas, Florida, Oregon) is forcing migrant families to again return to the stream in search of work during the harvest.

ACCORDING TO MIGRANTS, JOBS ON THESE CROPS HAVE DECLINED

Crops	Decline in Jobs
Asparagus	20%
Sugar Beets	35% yearly
Potatoes	48%
Onions	24%
Strawberries	4%
Tomatoes	29%
Pickles	32%
Green Peppers	25%
Cherries	42%
Melons	14%
Grapes	30%
Beans	15%
Cotton	90%
Apples	0
Peaches	0
Pears	0
Apricots	0
Prunes	trace
Squash	trace
Peas	trace

Special Texas Sampling

On June 26, 1970 Migrant Research Project received a letter from the Laredo Migrant Council stating that 2,500 to 3,000 workers had been forced to stay in the valley during the 1970 summer due to mechanization of sugar beet work as well as the reduction of acreage in planting beets, pickles, and other crops. The Council agreed to a small survey project to determine the reason for the widespread unemployment and hunger during the so-called "peak season" of employment. There were 86 families representing 495 people interviewed in Texas who had either already been north during 1970 and returned because of no work, or who had no contract for employment or a transportation advance and could not afford to make the trip. All respondents were in the Laredo, Texas area.

The heads-of-households represented in the sampling had been migrants for an average of almost 11 years. Of the 86 families interviewed, 50 families had been unable

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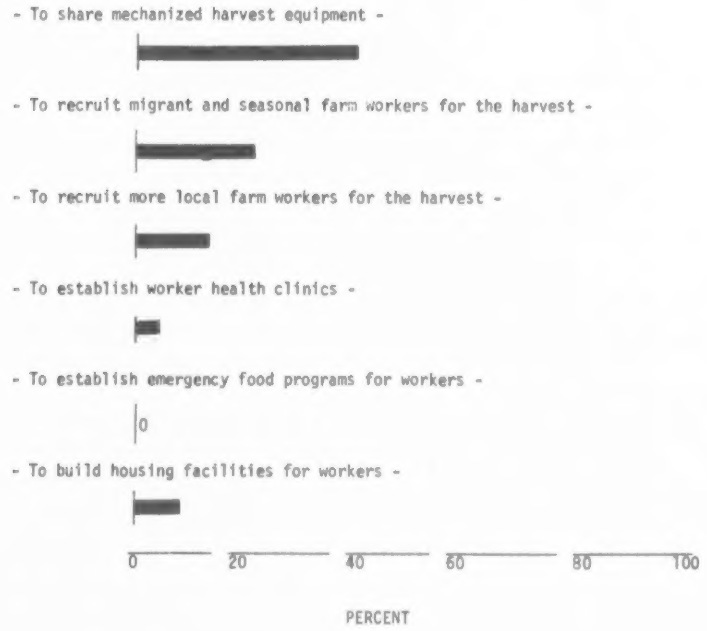
(22)—**Digest,** Office of Economic Opportunity, supplement, Vol. 1, No. 6, January 1971, Washington, D.C. 20506

(23)—p. 3, ibid

TABLE III

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. CATHOLIC
CONFERENCE INVOLVED IN SOCIAL ACTION ACTIVITIES
OFFER OPINIONS ABOUT WHY SMALL FARMERS ARE FORMING COOPERATIVES...



The table above, graphically illustrates the opinions of NCRLC representatives who responded to questions designed to ascertain the important reasons small farmers are going out of business. The conclusions reached from these selected opinions can be simply stated.

Small farms ARE going out of business because . . .
  Mechanization is too expensive
  Bank loans for mechanical harvesters are hard to get
  Interest rates on farm loans are too high
Small farmers ARE NOT going out of business because . .
  They cannot find seasonal help for harvesting
  They are joining the soil bank
  The soil is not productive
  The cost of farm labor is too high.

In conjunction with the question asked participants why small farmers were going out of business, the questionnaire provided space for them to state their own opinions if they differed from the MRP survey. Interesting comments were taken in the south, southwestern and midwestern states. They were as follows:

> "Farm income is far less than he (the farmer) could make as a factory worker . . ."
> "Property taxes (are) too high . . ."
> "Farmers (are) getting too old . . ."
> " . . . income from produce (the farmers) raise isn't sufficient to meet the cost of present day expenses . . ."

Present and Future Employment Opportunities for Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers

Compared to the 1968 and 1969 harvest seasons, those responding to MRP's social action questionnaire overwhelmingly said that fewer jobs were available to migrant farm workers during 1970. In addition, 40% of the respondents indicated migrants worked shorter hours per day during the 1970 harvest season. Both fewer jobs available and shorter hours of work per day can be accounted for by the increased mechanization of farms, according to the participants.

Conclusion (Catholic Questionnaires)

The impressions and opinions expressed in this project by representatives of the Division of Urban Life, National Catholic Rural Life Conference and the Division for the Spanish Speaking (Midwest Region) of the U.S. Catholic Conference served to verify, and in some cases, validate the research data recorded by MRP from over 13,500 individual sources.[29]

As noted in an earlier portion of this chapter, the outmigration from the rural areas into the overcrowded cities and metropolitan areas of the United States continues to place unprecedented financial burdens upon both the communities losing population and those absorbing the influx. This small project did not seek to determine the causes of this migration to the cities; nor did it seek to present recommendations for future planning efforts to neutralize this imbalance. It did seek to present selected opinions concerning this mobility trend from third-party persons who have demonstrated concern for the rural populations — the small farmer and the farm worker — in this nation.

Incredible as it may seem, rapid technological development paid for by the U.S. taxpayer now threatens the meager life and livelihood of an estimated 257,000 of America's citizens who are the producers of the abundance which sustains the rest of its citizens. Not only is the American taxpayer underwriting the cost of much of the research being done to reduce costs and danger of underproduction and increase mechanization of crops for the agricultural industry but soaring welfare costs and inability of states to absorb these rising costs, presents a dilemma the U.S. Congress may find difficult to resolve.

For the migrant worker, displaced from his employment by the machine, deprived of alternative employment by lack of education and training, the determination of states to cut back on welfare assistance may mean a death sentence unparalleled in history since the industrial revolution of the 19th century.

Arizona

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(29)—These sources included migrant and seasonal farm worker families, owners, crew leaders, processors and canners, and state and local welfare officials.

to find employment either because of mechanization or because of reduced acreage, in part caused by mechanization. It was interesting to note that while it is commonly thought that the sugar beet industry has not yet been hit to any extent by mechanization, 27 families interviewed specifically said they sought work in the sugar beet industry but had not been able to find work because of the increased mechanization.

The following table represents states where the families had either intended to migrate, or had sought work during 1970. (Note: Total number of states does not equal the total number of families in the sampling since some families indicated more than one state where they had either sought or had expected to receive employment.)

States Where Laredo, Texas Migrants Sought Employment – By No. Of Families

Wisc.	Ohio	Minn.	Mich.	Wy.	Colo.
21	17	15	14	13	11
Ill.	Nebr.	Idaho	N. Dak.	Calif.	N. M.
12	8	6	5	4	3
	Mont.	Okla.	Ind.	Ore.	
	2	2	1	1	

From the above sampling, it appeared that the mid-west stream was being harder hit by mechanization than the far-west stream. Of the families interviewed, 67% had expected to find summer field employment in the mid-west while 33% indicated they had hoped to find employment in the far-west or a combination of both.

The Migrant and Mechanization (Selected Opinions)

During the 1970 harvest season MRP sought to conduct an exploratory research project regarding mechanization to obtain opinions from sources which served the interest of small farm owners. The Department of Social Development of the U.S. Catholic Conference agreed to cooperate in this project. Two survey instruments were designed. One questionnaire sought responses from representatives of the National Catholic Rural Conference in 18 states where agriculture plays an important role in the state economy: [24]

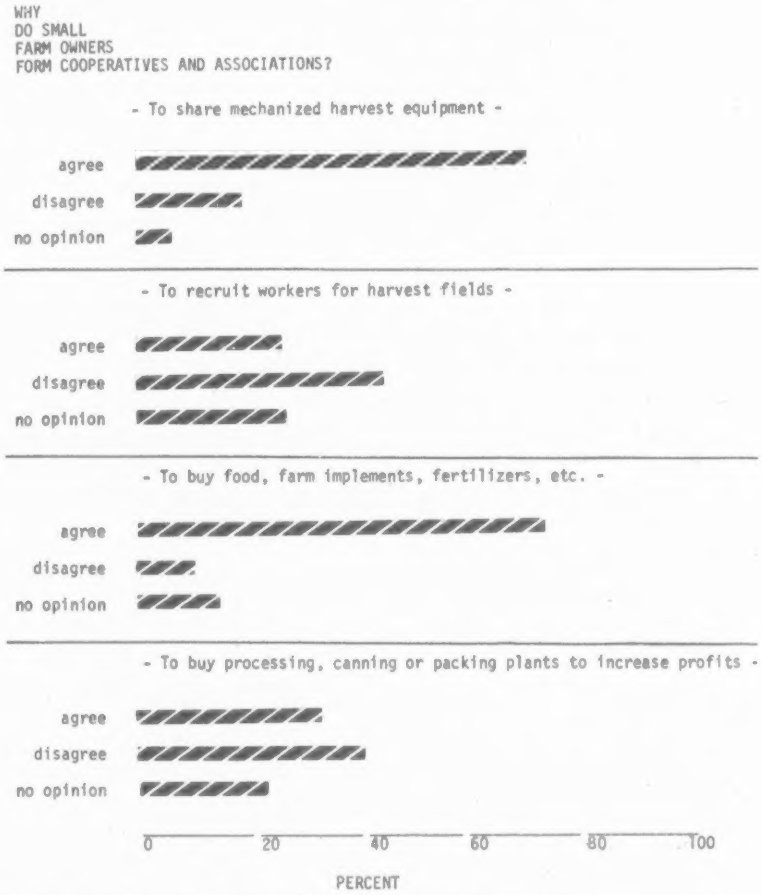
The other questionnaire, directed to state representatives of the U.S. Catholic Conference concerned with social affairs and activities, was designed to gain responses from those who were engaged in helping needy migrants while they were in the stream during the harvest season and while residing in homebase states. [25]

Responses to both questionnaires were obtained from representatives in 10 states.[26] Approximately 50 percent of the migrant and seasonal farm worker population seek employment in those states that responded to the questionnaires.[27] Therefore, even though the selected opinions received were relatively small in number, there was wide response from a national point of view. MRP was able to ascertain several important points of polarization of opinions and attitudes toward mechanization.

Why Farmers Are Forming Cooperatives

Representatives of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference (NCRLC)[28] and those involved in migrant social action activities were asked to respond to a series of questions designed to ascertain why farmers are forming cooperatives. The two tables below show the responses of those answering the questionnaires.

TABLE 1



The reader will notice that both groups represented agreed generally that farmers establish cooperatives to share mechanized harvest equipment. Furthermore, in the tables below it is illustrated that the expense involved in changing to mechanization individually is almost prohibitive due to high interest rates on equipment loans and the availability of loans for this purpose.

An alternative to the mechanization dilemma is to go out of business. But doing so places additional stress on the exisiting tight labor market as both the farmer owner and the migrant and seasonal farm worker seeks new employment in either the local community or an urban area. Even if the small farmer is able to stay in business and mechanize his farm through participation in cooperatives, the migrant farm laborer finds himself jobless. He loses either way.

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(24)—Arizona, California, Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin.

(25)—A total of 81 questionnaires were mailed to participants in the following states: California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesodta, Missouri, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and Wisconsin.

(26)—States responding include: California, Colorado, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin.

(27)—The migrant and seasonal farm worker population in the United States is estimated at 1,243,403. Population percentage cited was obtained from the **Migratory Farm Labor Problem in the United States,** U.S. Senate Subcommittee Report No. 91-83, 91st Congress, 1st session, Appendix A, pp. 15-29.

(28)—The National Catholic Rural Life Conference, formed in 1923, has as one of its purposes the encouragement of cooperative efforts among small farms in the midwest. Today, the Conference concerns itself with the entire field of rural development.

Pollution Control—Additional Worry for Migrants

Federal and State Pollution Laws and Regulations Displace 3,400 Migrant Farm Workers in Minnesota for the 1971 Harvest Season

Incredible as it may be, federal and state air and water pollution laws and regulations threaten to displace additional thousands of migrant and seasonal farm workers across the nation. The nation was alerted January 30, 1971 when the St. Paul (Minnesota) **Pioneer Press** carried a small story announcing the closing of the American Crystal Sugar Company plant at Chaska, Minnesota. The alleged reason for closing the plant, in operation since 1907, was that ". . . an attempt to bring the plant into conformity with air and water pollution control laws and regulations," became too costly and uneconomical.[30] As a result, six thousand acres of sugar beets will not be grown in the central Minnesota area surrounding Chaska and 3,400 migrant workers will not be employed there in 1971.

Father Eugene Hackert of Clara City, Minnesota said in a letter to MRP, "Not only are jobs lost for the migrant workers (and most of them relied on beet work to subsidize the rest of the year—the best wages they got all year), but for the refinery employees, for local truckers, farm workers, and beet dump employees as well. Possibly $2 million in specialized farm machinery is idle." About 220 to 250 farmers will be affected.

In addition to losing a good cash crop, of great concern to farmers is what to do with the specialized machinery that cannot be used for other crops and what to do with the land they prepared last fall for the 1971 crop.

Father Hackert went on to say, "Reasons other than pollution control seemed to be involved in the closing. Conformity to pollution standards was not required until 1973. Employees at the plant had heard rumors of closing a couple years ago. Growers had also heard this."

However, C. W. Briggs, President of American Crystal Sugar said,[31] "the plant built in 1907 must be closed because it has become obsolete and too uneconomical to operate. Modification was begun at the Chaska facility several years ago," he said, "in an attempt to bring the plant into conformity with air and water pollution control laws and regulations.

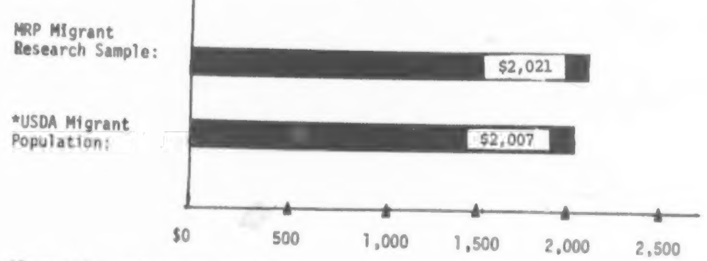
"About $250,000 spent three years ago," he added, "made only a token start toward the goal of full compliance with anti-pollution regulations. **But, even if such major renovation and improvements were made," he said, "the expenditures would not increase the capacity or efficiency of the plant."**

There can be no doubt that the closing of industrial plants in small towns due to new anti-polution law enforcement will be an economic loss both to the communities and to the workers. The question arises whether industry — faced with large capital investments which will not increase production and profits — will not be tempted to close already obsolete and costly plant operations in an effort to weaken vigorous enforcement of the popular clean air, clean water laws.

In all probability the company which closed the sugar processing plant at Chaska, Minnesota is only one of the first to take this action—irrespective of the true cause. The citizens of Chaska, following this action, were able to raise a cry heard all the way to the United States Congress. Planning to aid the community survive this economic blow will be forthcoming. Who will plan for the migrants, who have been displaced and will be deprived of a large portion of their annual earnings?" Pollution control is a new worry for migrant workers!

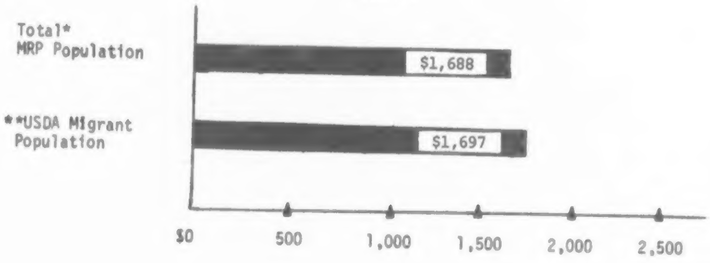
AVERAGE ANNUAL
WAGE FOR MIGRANT FARM WORKERS
MRP vs USDA

CHART A



*Farm and non-farm work combined

CHART B



* Includes all persons received and did not receive MRP Emergency Food Assistance
**Farm work only

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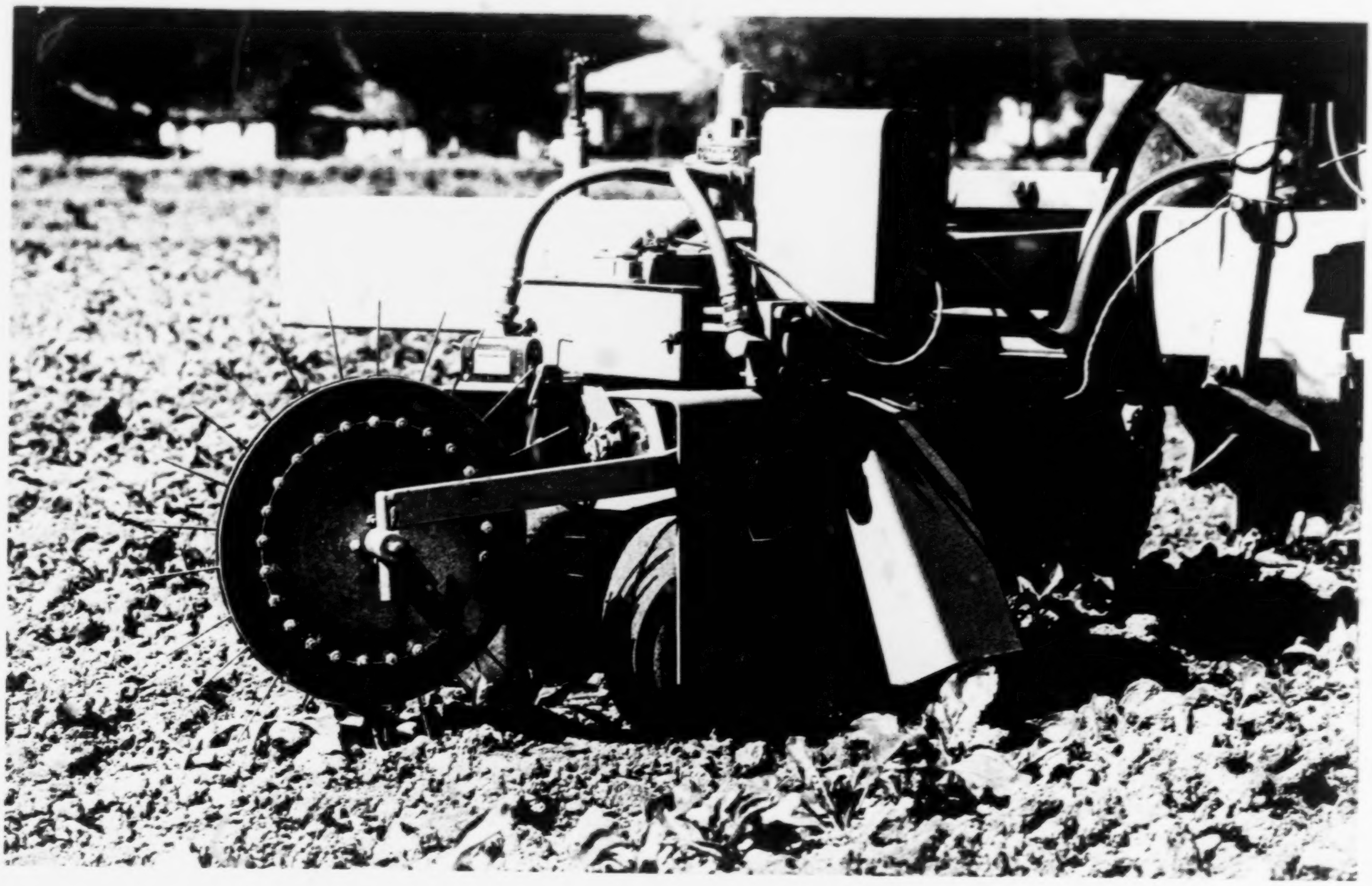
(30)—p. 15, **Pioneer Press**

(31)—pp 15, St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 30, 1971



"Closeup" of a single row unit of Eversman Selective Electronic Sugarbeet Thinner

Courtesy of American Crystal Sugar Co., Denver, Colorado

TABLE II

ACCORDING TO
NCRLC REPRESENTATIVES
SMALL FARMS ARE GOING
OUT OF BUSINESS BECAUSE:

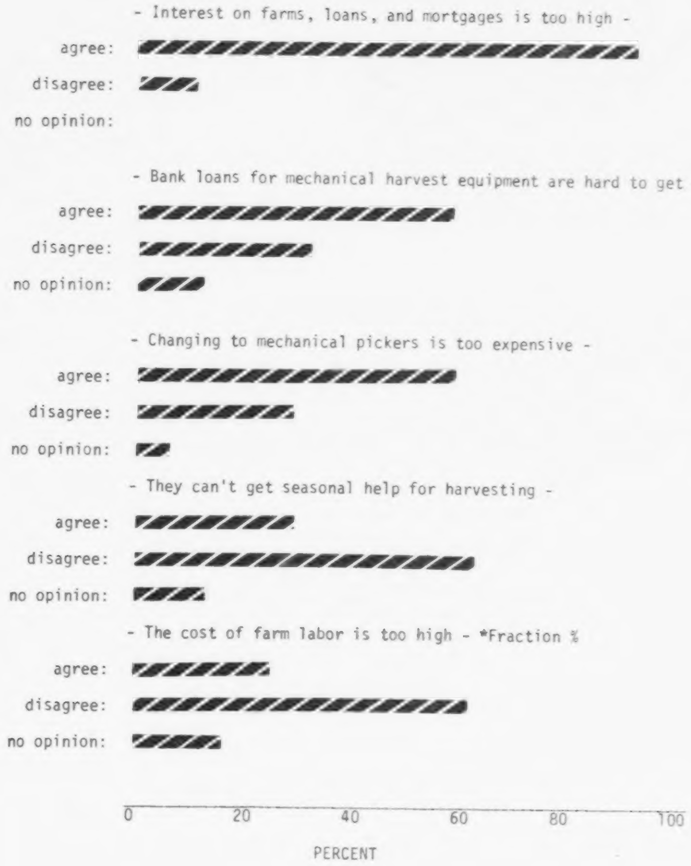
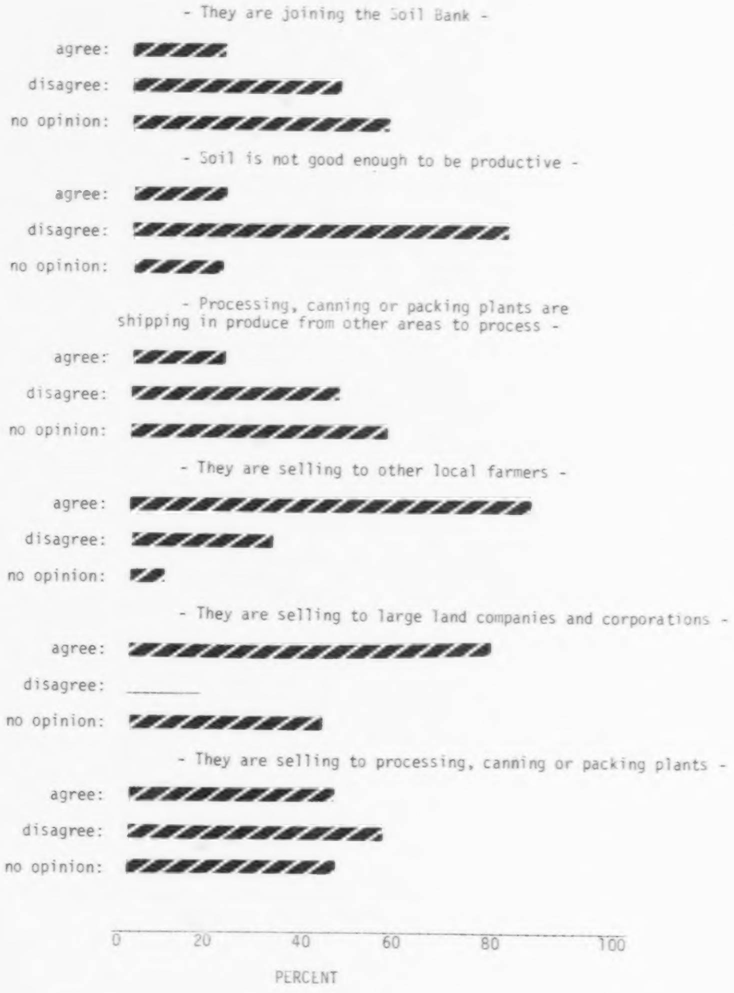
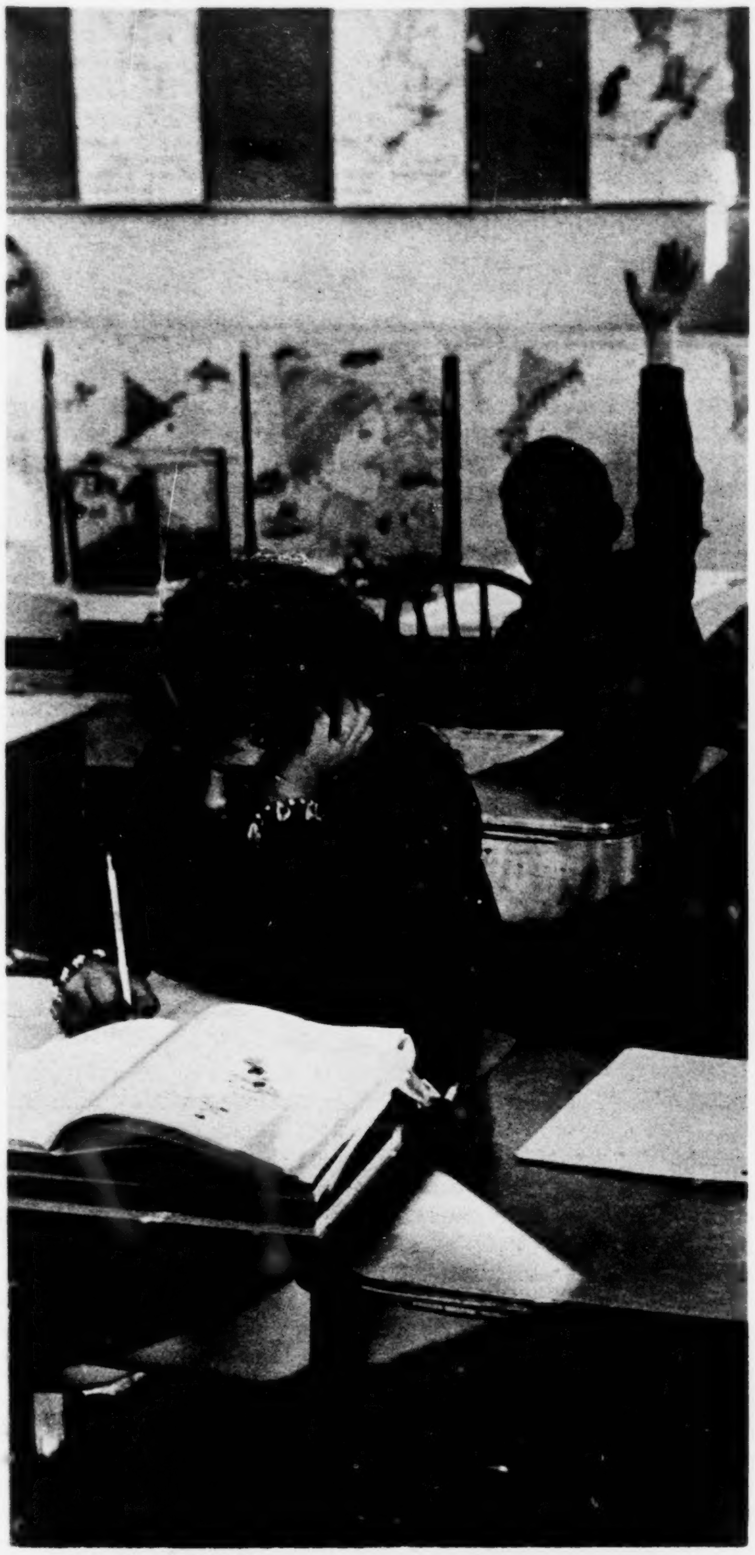


TABLE II (CONT'D)



SPECIAL
STUDIES

CHAPTER VII -
TITLE I - MINNESOTA



—From CHILD OF HOPE.

Introduction

The low educational attainment of the agricultural migrant farm worker is well documented. Many factors must be considered in any discussion of either the causes or the effects of this problem. However, it cannot be easily disputed that there is a definite correlation between the health of the migrant child and his ability to learn.

Special Project

The food programs of the United States Department of Agriculture have not met the minimum daily basic food needs of children. Not even the school hot lunch program was designed with this as its purpose. The purposes of the food programs have always been to stabilize farm production and prices. Feeding of the poor was only one of the many tools used to accomplish this purpose.

School administrators, aware of the correlation between health, ability, and progress of students, have been particularly helpless in solving this problem for migrant children whose mobility makes them short-term and erratic students. Limited by bureaucratic guidelines for budgeting and administration of the hot lunch programs, they have had difficulty in meeting the need for additional free hot lunches during those times when migrant children impact an area.

Title I funds of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are one method of meeting the need for crucial food. However, for a growing child, one meal a day is insufficient. Chronic hunger for a child and/or his parent is apt to produce lifeless, disinterested and unmotivated students.

On June 30, 1970, an experimental demonstration research project to provide food for the families of migrant children attending a selected summer school program in Minnesota was agreed to by the Minnesota State Department of Education and the Migrant Research Project, Washington, D. C. **This agreement was based upon two basic assumptions: (1) if the entire migrant family were assured food for three meals a day, the migrant children in summer school would show greater achievement, and; (2) the child who has special educational needs is influenced by the sociological, psychological, health, welfare, housing, employment factors and environmental problems.**

Approximately 130 students from 80 to 90 migrant families were enrolled in the selected summer school program. The school operated during June and July, 1970, and included nursery school, Head Start, kindergarten and regular day school classes. Ages of participants ranged from three months through fifteen years. There were no students beyond the age of 16.

In order to make it possible for entire families of school children to receive emergency food, it was proposed and agreed to that the Migrant Research Project would reimburse the Minnesota Title I program to the extent of 75¢ a day for members in the family 16 years of age and older. Minnesota Department of Education funds would support the minor children in the family at the rate of 75¢ per child per day as an aid to education. **In this way children who were not in school or who were working in the fields would be assured 2 free meals a day.** It was further agreed that the children attending school would have breakfast before going to school, participate in the hot lunch program at school, and be assured of an evening meal at home. Due to the innovative nature of this proposal and the uniqueness of the funding arrangements, no research design was ready-made. Thus, the research design was considered experimental and investigation was of an exploratory nature from the point of view of the research techniques applied and the information that was to be gathered.

Methodology and Procedures

To ascertain the effects on the family of being assured sufficient funds to purchase the daily food needs of family members, a combination of open-ended questions was utilized to interview participant families. A closed-end questionnaire on demographic information, development of social skills, and school attitudes was administered to the teachers and teachers' aids. In addition, information from the school records including intelligence tests and educational background was obtained and analyzed. Included was family histories as well as the children's academic progress. In addition, information concerning the general health condition of each child, was included.

The director of the migrant summer school program, was authorized to accept applications from migrant families for emergency food service. Upon verification of need and income level, the migrant family was issued a voucher redeemable for food at a local grocery store or, when possible, for food stamps at the county welfare office. The food voucher provided food for a maximum of 7 days. At the time of application, information about demographic characteristics and work experience of family members was obtained. At the end of the initial period, the migrant head of family needing additional food assistance had to return to the school to request another emergency food voucher covering the next 7 days. During the second interview, he was asked about the social and psychological effects of the food program as it applied to his family and home environment. Interviews were conducted by MRP with a representative sample of applicants in their homes during the evening hours.[31] Informal interviews were also held with the school children during the recess periods, at lunch time and in their homes. The questionnaire prepared for the teachers their aides was administered by MRP at a staff mee in accordance with the research design. Finally, in mal interviews were held with a county commissio local representative of the state employment agency local employer of migrants, and an official of the cou welfare office who was in charge of issuing food stam

Findings

The time limitation of the summer school program pl the transitory nature of the migrant family (the tenden to move to other harvest fields overnight) were reco nized as basic problems in gathering complete researc data on all participants in the emergency food servic project. **Nevertheless, it was possible to denote a sligh positive reaction and change in the home environment migrant workers. There also were positive signs tha assuring at least two meals at home had a positive im pact on the social attitudes of the children attendin school.** Community leaders, although previously unaware of the research project, indicated interest in the results.

The Migrant Family

The eight families which formed the population for this research project had been migrants an average of 10 years. One family had been in migrant status for 35 years; six additional families had been migrants prior to 1969; and one family was new to this way of life. Four of the respondents had worked in Texas during 1970 before traveling to Minnesota in May; two had been employed as migrant farm workers in Michigan during 1970; one family had previously found field work in Illinois; and the remainder had worked only as farm laborers in Minnesota.

Migrants absorb an abnormally high cost of getting to their place of employment. Yet transportation costs are not considered a hardship deduction in determing their eligibility for most welfare programs. **In the Minnesota project, it was clear that transportation costs in searching for employment must be absorbed when employment is not found as well as the costs when work has previously been contracted.** One family indicated they had traveled to Wisconsin before finding work in Minnesota and one family had sought employment in Indiana. The remaining six families had not looked for work in any other state.

Only three of the migrant families claimed they had worked in the same area the year before. Three of them also stated they worked for the same sugar beet grower in 1969; four claimed they were working for a different grower this year; and one was a new migrant. Seven out of the eight families had been promised a job prior to arriving in Minnesota. The one migrant family who had not been promised a job had not worked in the Minnesota area last year. In this case a friend had told the head of the family there might be work available at $1.55 an hour in Minnesota. This, as it turned out, included a bonus of ten cents an hour for picking asparagus if he stayed to the end of the harvest season. Five of the eight migrant families interviewed stated that pre-employment promises relating to rate of pay, housing, food credit or food stamps were kept. Three families said some of the promises were kept. All were promised and received free housing; four had been promised grocery store credit; and one family stated they were promised food stamps.

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[31] Some migrant workers and their families had moved on to other communities so a second interview was not possible. However, a file was prepared on these families and family histories were obtained for future use.

Seven of the families in the survey arrived in Minnesota in May and one family arrived in June. All had worked every day since that time. **An average of four members in each family worked in the asparagus and sugar beet fields. In one family, nine members worked in the fields. Generally they worked in the fields from four to six hours daily.** Two heads of families, however, worked eight-hour days.

It was interesting to note that the migrants held a variety of jobs in their home state (Texas) during the winter months. One worked in construction; one in orange groves; one was a compressor in the cotton harvest; one attended school; and 4 did no work at all.

Previous Experience With Welfare

Many factors combine to prevent migrants from participating in public assistance programs. Chief among these is the mobility caused by the vocation he pursues. Administrative barriers at a federal, state and local level also increase the difficulty encountered.[33]

MRP research has disclosed still another important reason larger numbers of needy migrants do not benefit from public programs.[34] **Whatever the causes, migrants do not generally apply for assistance, particularly, while in the stream states.**

The Minnesota project pointed to another interesting phenomenon. Lack of understanding of governmental administrative structure and terminology coupled with language difficulties may mean larger number of migrants do participate when services are made available to them through agencies whose chief purpose is to assist migrants.

These agencies, almost without exception, employ bilingual outreach workers often from the migrant population. While these agencies are tax-supported, and within the broad sense may be categorized as welfare assistance agencies, migrants apparently do not define services as such unless they are applied for and received from a public welfare office.

In Minnesota, 7 of the eight migrant families claimed to have asked for no assistance from welfare agencies of any kind during 1970. However, in the project food application form, it was revealed that one had received commodities in the state of Texas for four months during 1969. One migrant indicated he had asked for welfare assistance in January, 1970, at Edinburg, Texas, but did not receive any help. The same man claimed that in Minnesota in May, 1970, he received food stamps and health care in June. In this case the employer had arranged for food stamps to be sold by proxy with the company paying for the initial purchase. The health care received was through Public Health Service special migrant health clinic held in a private physician's office but sponsored by the Minnesota Department of Health.

Another family stated on the MRP questionnaire that they had not received nor did they request any welfare aid. However, on the broad application request form, this same family said they received health assistance in June, 1970, in Minnesota. This also was through the migrant health clinic. Another family who claimed on the MRP questionnaire that they had neither requested nor received any welfare help during 1970, revealed on the Emergency Food Application Form that they had received food stamps in Minnesota in 1970 and surplus commodities in Texas the same year. Still another family said they had not requested nor received assistance from any welfare agency; however, they indicated on their food application form that they had received OEO health services in June, 1970, in Minnesota.

"We're Well Thanks to God . . ." —From CHILD OF HOPE.

Other Characteristics

The families participating in the project worked basically as field hands in the harvesting of asparagus and as weeders and blockers in the sugar beet fields. Only one performed mechanical work. He drove a tractor for an asparagus grower.

There was an average of 6.5 children in each family. There were seven male and one female heads of families. The average annual income in 1969 for the families was $1,998. The average income per family for May, 1970, was $274, and the average income for June, 1970, was $228. **An average of four members of the family worked for this single income figure. Therefore, the average income per month in June, 1970, per family member working was $57 and the average income per member of the family working in May, 1970, was $68.50.**

Nineteen children from the eight families attended the migrant school program. However, **35 children under 16 years of age did not attend school.** No in-depth analysis of this sub-population has been attempted. However, from the family history forms on file at the school, it was possible to ascertain the educational background of the mothers and fathers of the families. Two of the fathers had a fourth grade education, one had completed the eighth grade, two the third grade, and two had received no formal education. **The average education of fathers was 3 years of formal schooling.** Five of the fathers were fluent in English, two were not. The one female head-of-family had a third grade education and was not fluent in English. Of the seven remaining mothers, two had completed the sixth grade, one the fifth, one the fourth and three had no formal education. **This averaged out to a third grade education for all mothers.** Four of the mothers were fluent in English and four were not.

The heads of 6 families were interviewed after the work day. Without exception, they volunteered the information that the emergency food money was needed and very welcome. All of them said it had made a positive contribution to their general attitude but not specifically to the home's environment. None of the working members of the families had taken sick leave since the emergency food program had been in effect, although they sometimes worked twelve to thirteen hours a day in the sugar beet fields. Generally the workers commented that their physical condition was good. Two fathers commented about their children's activities at school. All appeared to be interested in the Title I summer school program and were happy that their children had the opportunity to go to school.

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[33] See Annual Report, 1969

[34] See Chapter

Analysis Of Teachers' Questionnaire

The teachers at the summer school were asked to participate in the Emergency Food Research Project by giving spontaneous answers to a closed-end questionnaire read aloud by an interviewer at a group session. The questions were designed to seek information relative to changes in the social and physchological attitudes among the students during the emergency food program. Prior to administering the questionnaire, a psychologist approved the questionnaire's content, phraseology and procedures for administering. The questions and statements were read aloud to the group of nine teachers and responses were recorded by circling the appropriate answer — yes or no — on an answer sheet provided. Fifteen seconds were allowed.

Only one teacher noted that a student commented on the improved environment at home since the initiation of the program to feed the entire migrant family in the home. **One student commented that brothers and sisters not at school seemed better natured and more pleasant.** None commented that their mothers were happier or that they spent more leisure time with them. **One student did comment that his father seemed happier and less tired.** Three teachers agreed that students mentioned the fact that their fathers were spending more leisure time with the entire family. According to the teachers, two students commented that the entire family was being fed by emergency food and a single teacher commented that some of the children were eating breakfast at home and did not want breakfast at school in the morning.

One of the nine teachers interviewed said that **students had recently been taking more interest in classroom activities.**

Part three of the questionnaire consisted of questions pertaining to the learning skills and social compatability of the students during classes and at recess. The phraseology and attitude questions were derived from the child development analysis form (modified) which has been utilized for several years by the teacher at the end of the school term and the results compared and analyzed.

It was noted by all of the teachers that there did not seem to be any better perception to sound pitches and noises among the students since participating in the emergency food program. One teacher indicated that there did appear to be some differences in perception of colors, sizes, shapes and forms. Only one felt the children were responding more quickly to beats and changes of tempo in music, in physical development skills. **Three teachers believed there was a general improvement in health and appearance.** Two teachers thought that the students had **developed more positive balance** and skipped, hopped and jumped better, but there was no indication that muscle coordination appeared improved or that there was better discrimination in ordering of relationships, such as aligning blocks, putting puzzles together, or matching colors.

It did appear that there was some improvement in the social skills and emotions of the children since the emergency food program had been in effect. Three of the nine teachers felt there was a more positive friendship pattern in free play. One teacher felt there was a **better attitude on sharing such things as waiting their turn in line, cooperating and sharing toys with fellow students.**

In language and communications arts, only two teachers felt there was better content in the writing and more composition in drawing picture stories.[35] However, there appeared to be no difference in the verbal performance of relating stories.

In the area of pre-learning skills, one teacher felt that the **students were better following directions to assigned tasks.** Three of the nine teachers felt **there was a quicker response to directions and that the students took a more active part in solving problems.** Four of the teachers indicated **students appeared to have more self-assurance and self-confidence.** Likewise, four teachers felt their **students were trying new and more difficult tasks.**

Analysis Of Aides Questionnaire

The role of the aides at the migrant summer school program consists of assisting the teachers in the classrooms, and supervising the children during lunch periods, free play and rest periods. Aides include mothers of migrant children in school and volunteer youth supplied by churches in the area at no cost to the program. The mothers, however, received an hourly wage and most of them participated in the emergency food program.

The same questionnaire that was administered to the teachers was administered to the group of eight aides.

One aide indicated the students felt there were improved meals in the home. Two aides reported the students indicated their brothers and sisters not in school had seemed better natured since the emergency food propram began. Three aides indicated students had mentioned their mothers appeared happier and less tired. According to four aides, however, none of the students had reported their mother was spending more leisure time with the family. Students had commented that their fathers had seemed happier and less tired. Two aides indicated students had mentioned that their fathers had been spending more leisure time with the family. No students reported the families had food not usually served in the home as a result of the special food program. However, families were not asked to record or report categories of food purchased or served as a result of the program. One student commented to an aide that there seemed to be a better atmosphere in the home environment.

Part Two of the questionnaire asked the aides if the students in classes they were working with seemed to take more interest in classroom activities as a result of the food program. All of the aides indicated yes.

Part Three of the questionnaire was based upon MAP Child Development Analysis Scale (modified). **Four aides indicated that there had seemed to be more perceptional readiness among their students. Six aides indicated that the students in the classes they were working with had a better perception of sounds, pitches, and noises. Seven aides indicated that there was a quicker response to beat, change of tempo in music, etc.**

Seven aides seemed to feel that there was a general improvement in the health and appearance of the children. The majority of them indicated positive answers when asked about physical development skills, and stated that the students seemed to have better balance and better muscle coordination.

The entire group of aides seemed to feel that there was better discrimination in the ordering of relationships, e.g. aligning blocks, putting puzzles together and matching colors. Also, all the aides indicated that there had been an improvement in social compatability among the children since the emergency food program had been in operation. More positive friendship patterns in free play was discernable, and better attitudes in such things as waiting their turn in line, cooperating with others and sharing toys, were recognized.

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[35] No individual examples were supplied, however, as the respondents were not asked to identify themselves on the answer sheet in order to maintain more objectivity.

There were also positive responses regarding the development of language and communications skills. Five of the aides indicated that there was better content in writing and more composition in drawing picture stories. All of the aides felt there appeared to be better performance in telling stories. The aides also felt the students were following directions of assigned tasks in a better way. Only two felt that there was a quicker response to directions and that the students were taking a more active part in problem solving. Six of the aides felt there was more self-assurance and confidence among the students, and five indicated the students were trying new and more difficult tasks.

Finally, all of the aides stated that since the food program had been operating, they honestly felt that there had been a positive effect on the overall social characteristics and personalities of the children.[36]

Analysis Of The School Nurses' Questionnaire

The questionnaire completed by the school nurse was given special analysis because of her unique relationship to the families, e.g. (1) she transported a number of migrant students to and from school every day in her private automobile; (2) she talked to the children whenever they had an ailment; (3) she actually participated in interviewing the migrant workers in their homes; and (4) she is an employer of agricultural workers.

According to the nurse, the students had indeed commented about improved meals at home since the emergency food program had been in existence. They had not commented that brothers or sisters were better natured at home. They did state that their mothers and fathers seemed happier and less tired and that they were able to spend more leisure time with the family. The nurse stated that she learned on trips to and from school that the emergency food program was being utilized by the entire family. **She also learned that special foods including lettuce, tomatoes, oranges, grapes, ice cream and candy, were being added to the diets.** None of the students commented there was a better atmosphere in the home environment. However, the nurse indicated that one family went on a picnic and spent the evening at the lake.

In the nurses' opinion, the students as a group were taking more interest in classroom projects and the other activities at school. She also said there had been some improvement in perception and perceptual readiness. With regard to the physical development skills, she indicated there had been a general improvement in their health and personal appearance.

They responded more quickly to change in the tempo of music; they seemed to skip, hop and jump better at play; and their muscle coordination seemed improved.

Likewise, there seemed to be better discrimination in ordering of relationships such as aligning blocks, putting puzzles together and matching colors. Social skills also had improved according to the respondent.

Language and communication skills in writing, drawing pictures and telling stories verbally, also improved. In pre-learning skills, the nurse indicated that there did not seem to be any improvement in students following directions in assigned tasks. However, she felt there was a quicker response to directions, and the students did take a more active part in problem solving. She indicated there was more self-assurance and self-confidence among the students, however, they did not seem to try new and difficult tasks.

Basically, the nurse felt that the program of emergency food service was having a positive effect on the overall social characteristics and personalities of the children.

A Comparison Of The Questionnaire By The Teachers And Aides

It is obvious from the separate analysis of the answers given by the aides and teachers in response to identical questions that the aides had a feeling that the emergency food program was more effective. This certainly may have been due to the fact that the aides played a different role in the summer school program, i.e., they were not professional teachers; some were mothers of children in school; and some actually participated in the emergency food program. On the other hand, several of them spoke Spanish fluently, and could communicate better than the teachers with the students. In addition, the aides were generally placed in a different relationship to the student in a classroom, supervising them while at free play out of doors and in informal situations. There was a "Companion" relationship rather than teacher-student relationship.[37]

The teachers, as a whole, seemed more critical of the students, of each other, and the way in which the program was being carried out. This may have had a bearing on their negative answers. Over the period of four days in which the MRP interviewer observed the teachers and aides at work, talked with them and met with them socially, it appeared that the emergency food program had indeed had a positive effect on the students in the classroom, as well as in their home environment. He felt that some of the enthusiasm of the aides could be reduced and some of the negative responses on the part of the teachers were probably too harsh.

Conclusions

On the basis of tentative analysis there appears to be a definite correlation and interrelationship between feeding families and the sociological and psychological attitudes that exist within the family home environment, their work in the harvest fields and the attitudes of the children attending school. It was beyond the scope of this project to make any effort to determine which factors were causes and which were effects.

The results ascertained indicate that it would be of value to utilize the experience gained in developing a more sophisticated research-demonstration project in a home-base state on a full year basis.

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[36] In one particular case it was noted that one of the teachers spent only 10 minutes in the classroom during the entire school day, and it was verified that this had been a practice during the entire summer program. Therefore, in the case of this particular aide it is felt that she could judge student responses far better than the teacher.

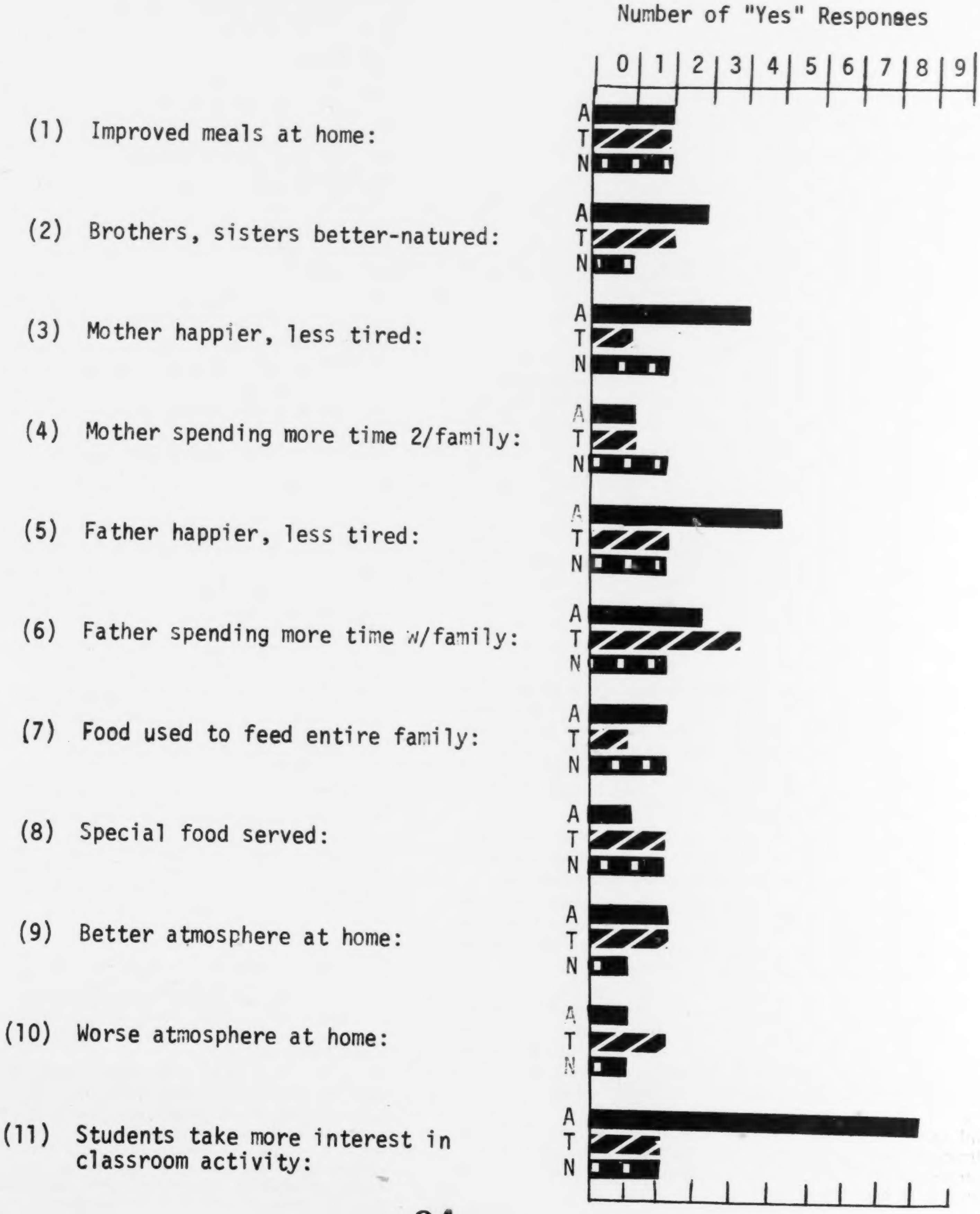
[37] The questionnaires of three of the aides were not included in this analysis because they were assisting the day-care program teacher where the children were three months to two years old. It is interesting to note, however, that on these three particular questionnaires, responses to the questions asked were marked in the affirmative.

The two clerical aides in the office of the School Director were also interviewed and their forms were individually analyzed. The majority of their responses were in the negative. This is understandable because they were not in the classroom with the students during the class periods but worked in the director's office. However, both aides felt that as they answered the students' questions, encountered them in the halls or at lunch, that the emergency food program had an overall positive effect on the social attitudes and characteristics and personalities of the students attending summer school.

TABLE I
STAFF COMMENTS ON STUDENT ATTITUDES

KEY
Aids: (8) A ■
Teachers: (9) T ▨
School Nurse: (1) N ▣

I. SINCE INITIATION OF THE MRP EMERGENCY FOOD PROGRAM IN THE HOME, STUDENTS HAVE COMMENTED ON THE FOLLOWING:



(Continued)

II. Mental and Physical Skills of Student Participants:

A. PERCEPTION AND PERCEPTUAL READINESS:
(1) More perceptive to visual differences

(2) More perceptive to sound differences

B. PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT SKILLS:
(1) General improvement in health

(2) Quicker response to change in heat

(3) Better balance

(4) Better muscle coordination

(5) Better ordering of relationships

C. SOCIAL SKILLS AND EMOTION:
(1) More positive friendship pattern

(2) Better attitude in sharing

D. LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION:
(1) Better content in writing, drawing

(2) Better telling of stories

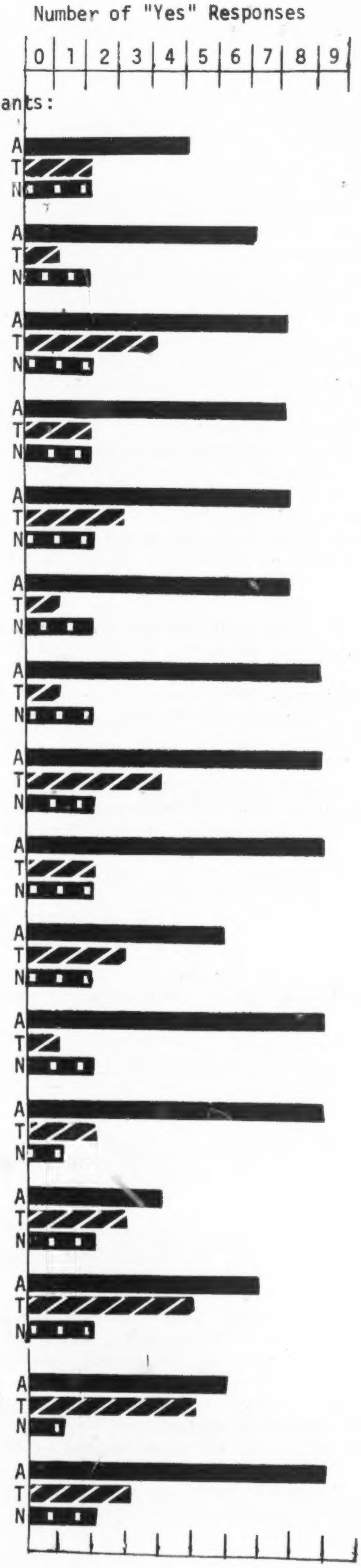
E. PRE-LEARNING SKILLS:
(1) Followed directions better

(2) Quicker response to directions

(3) Greater self-assurance, confidence

(4) Tried new, difficult tasks

Feel program had positive effect on social characteristics and personalities of children



CHAPTER VIII - IOWA NUTRITIONAL REPORT

In the fall of 1970 MRP contracted with the Migrant Action Program of Iowa to perform a study of health needs of migrants who requested and received emergency food monies and those who did not. Following are excerpts from the final report.

Introduction

Health records of migrants receiving medical attention through the Migrant Action Program in four Iowa counties during the summer of 1969 were compared with records of those families from the same area who received aid in purchasing food or food stamps during the same period of time through the use of MRP Emergency food monies. The purpose was to see if a relationship could be established between the need for medical care and the need for supplementary food. MRP had the additional purpose to determine if there were any significant differences in the health of those families who needed MRP food assistance and those who did not.

The study included 330 migrants, 207 of whom received emergency food assistance. All 330 attended migrant family clinics and were visited by the migrant public health nurse employed by the Migrant Action Program. The basis of this study are the health records kept by the nurses, physicians, and the health coordinator of the MAP staff.

The reader should bear in mind that high attendance of emergency food recipients at clinics may not only reflect the fact that they needed medical attention, but also that they had contact with more MAP staff and thus may have been better informed concerning medical services available.

Statistical Findings: Clinics

Between June 4 and September 23, 1969, the MAP health component sponsored nine general family clinics. During this time 330 migrants were in the area, and 169 cases were treated at clinics, of this number 116 were recipients of the emergency food program at the time they received medical care.

Attendance at clinics among recipients and non-recipients of emergency food funds is as follows:

Table I
Recipient & Non-Recipient Attendance at Family Clinics

Clinic Date	Recipient Attendants	Non-recipient Attendants
June 4	12	4
June 16	9	9
July 1	14	5
July 15	30	9
July 29	15	5
August 12	12	5
August 28	10	7
September 8	9	6
September 23	5	3
TOTAL	116	53

Both emergency food recipients and non-recipients received equal notification of clinics. The Public Health nurse visited the two groups equally, and both had equal access to the clinics. Recipients and non-recipients attended clinic proportionately to their percentage of the migrant population studied.

Sixty-one percent of all cases treated at clinic were emergency food recipients while 39 percent were non-recipients. Recipients made up approximately 62 percent of the total migrant group studied. However, the two groups differed in types of diagnoses treated.

Table II
Types of Diagnoses Treated at Clinics

Diagnosis	Recipients	Non-recipients
Anemia	3*	2
Diabetes	3	2
Obesity	4	1
Digestive Disorders		1
Bronchitis (respiratory infections)	5	
Hypertension-anxiety-alcoholism	10	
Sprains (including hernia)	5	2
Heart Murmur	2	1
Skin Rashes	9	5
Birth Control, Pre-natal and Post	7	
Pre-school or General exam	16	7
Immunizations (not accompanied by exam)	8	9
Other or Unspecified	41	23
TOTAL	113	53

*Hospitalized following clinic.

The largest categories for treatment in both cases were pre-school or general physical examinations, and immunizations not accompanying examinations. Following the examinations and not counting the "other or non-specified category," emergency food recipients and non-recipients, ranked in order of their frequency of occurence are (includes only those types of cases occurring two or more times):

Table III
Ranking of Recipient Clinic Diagnoses

1. Hypertension, alcoholism, and Anxiety*
2. Skin Rashes and Infections
3. Birth Control or Pre- and Post-natal care
4. A. Respiratory Infections
   B. Muscle Sprains (including hernia)
5. Obesity
6. A. Diabetes
   B. Muscle Sprain
   C. Anemia

Table IV
Ranking of Non-recipient Clinic Diagnoses*

1. Skin Rashes and Infections
2. A. Muscle Sprains
   B. Diabetes
   C. Anemia

*Includes only those types of cases treated two or more times.

Need for help in providing food for one's family was in many cases accompanied by a request for treatment for anxiety, hypertension, or alcoholism.

Ten out of 116 cases among emergency food recipients were in this category. This is more than 8.5 percent of all recipients seen at clinics, and almost 11 percent of all recipients (including children) receiving care other than routine physicals or immunizations.

Treatment in this category was provided only at the request of the patient. Typical statements were, "I don't know what's the matter, I cry all the time," "I can't sleep at night," etc.

Recipient family members received more varied care at clinics. Of nine main types of ailments for which recipients required treatment, non-recipients required clinic treatment in only four (4) categories. Non-recipient family members sought care only for more apparent medical needs, usually requiring shorter terms of treatment and less intensive care.

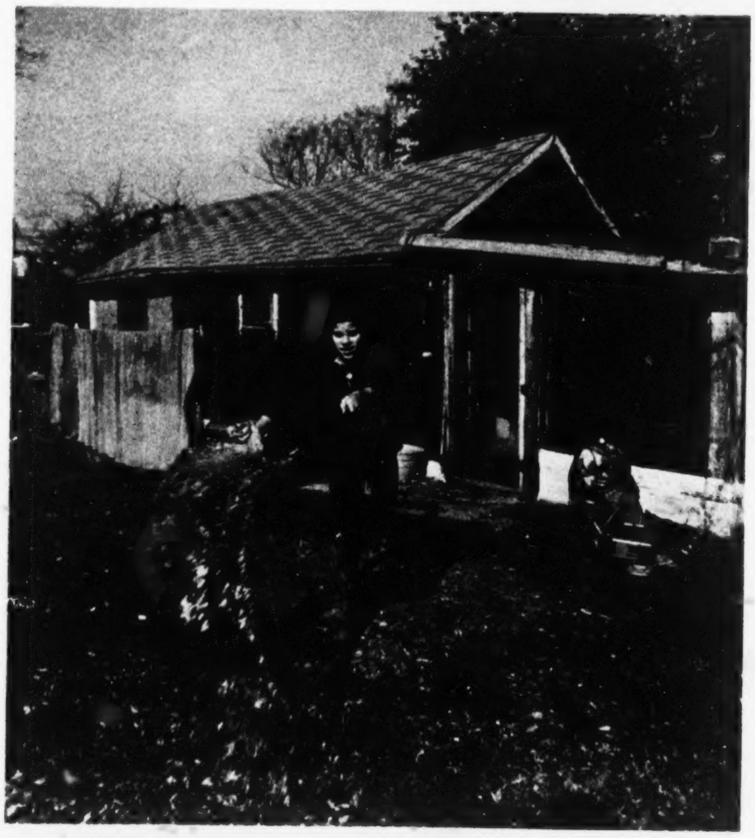
Recorded instances of recommended follow-up care from clinics for recipients and non-recipients were:

Table V
Recommended Clinic Follow-up Among Recipients and Non-recipients

Recommended Follow-up	Recipients	Non-recipients
Immediate hospitalization	3	0
Hospitalization scheduled for operation	4	0
Referred to specialist	11	2
Told to Return to Next Clinic	10	2
Lab Work Requested (in addition to that done at clinic)	5	2

VI. Statistics: Emergency Care

Emergency treatments for the four-county area during the four-month period totalled 166. Of these treatments, 137 were for emergency food recipients, and 29 were for non-recipients. Following is a chart showing the types of treatment received, and the numbers of recipients and non-recipients of emergency food receiving "emergency" medical care. They are divided into the categories of infections; communicable diseases; sprains; cuts and burns; reproduction; gastro-intestinal; nutritional deficiencies; and "other." A separate category was established for each diagnosis totalling at least five (5) treatments among either recipients or non-recipients.



—From Child of Hope.

Table VI
Emergency Care Diagnosis Treated

Diagnosis	Recipients		Non-recipients		
Infections	46	+	13	=	59
Ear	5		1		
Skin	10		2		
Eye	3		2		
Kidney	6		0		
Throat	2		2		
Mouth	4		0		
Bronchitis	5		1		
Pharyngitis	3		1		
Tonsilitis	4		1		
Other	4		3		
Communicable Diseases	5	+	2	=	7
Mumps	0		1		
Chicken Pox	0		1		
Impetigo	5		0		
Sprains, Cuts, Burns	14	+	4	=	18
Sprains	1		1		
Cuts and Burns	13		3		
Reproduction	13	+	1	=	14
Birth Control	1		0		
Pre-natal	4		0		
Post-natal and Baby Check	4		1		
Toxemia of Pregnancy	4		0		
Gastro-intestinal Disorders ...	10	+	0	=	10
Constipation	6		0		
Diarrhea	4		0		
Nutritional Deficiencies	8	+	0	=	8
Anemia	5		0		
Obesity	1		0		
Low Hemoglobin	2		0		
Hypertension-Alcoholism	10	+	0	=	10
Hypertension	6		0		
Alcoholism	4		0		
Vision Defects	5	+	1	=	6
Others	26	+	8	=	34
Vision Defect	5		1		
Arthritis	0		1		
Heart Murmur	1		0		
Chest Pain	4		0		
Ulcer	3		0		
Diabetes	4		1		
Roundworm	3		0		
Convulsions	0		1		
Hernia	0		3		
Pneumonia	2		0		
Pediculosis (lice)	4		1		
GRAND TOTAL	137		29	=	166

Ranking of categories according to number of treatments given show that the three largest categories coincide: (1) infections; (2) other (miscellaneous); (3) sprains, cuts, burns. However, with emergency food recipients making up less than two-thirds of the migrant population studied, they made up approximately five-sixths of all emergency medical visits. In each of the top three categories, a similar pattern of emergency food recipients receiving a disproportionate number of treatments appeared.

Table VII
Percentage of Emergency Care Treatments Among Recipients and Non-recipients

Diagnosis	Recipients	Non-recipients
Infections	78%	22%
Miscellaneous	79%	21%
Sprains, Cuts, Burns	78%	22%

It should also be noted that three categories of diagnoses for which food recipients were treated show no treatments at all for non-recipients. These are the categories of gastro-intestinal disorders, nutritional deficiencies, and hypertension-alcoholism. Also noteable are four instances of treatment for toxemia of pregnancy among emergency food recipients.

Following is a case study of needs for emergency and hospital care in one family of migrant emergency food recipients.

Case Study: Gabino and Ema

Gabino, Ema and their two babies came to Minnesota from Texas standing in the rear of a truck with 30 other migrants. The trip took two days, and the truck stopped only when the drivers wanted to rest.

By the time they arrived in Minnesota, they had not eaten for two and a half days and had to borrow money from the grower to buy food. The two-month old baby was sick, and by the time MAP social workers contacted them to help buy food with MRP emergency funds, deductions were already being taken from Gabino's paychecks to pay medical and food bills.

When the baby was entered in the MAP day care center, the nurse noted, "Frank was ill upon admission into the nursery and was under a doctor's care for a cold and continuous diarrhea. He looked very fragile and sickly." She set as a goal, "To improve his state of nutrition and to use only formula as recommended by the doctor."

A month later, when the baby continued to have diarrhea, and contracted a respiratory infection, he was hospitalized for six days. The nurse noted at the time of admission, "Baby had had diarrhea for several weeks. Baby appears malnourished." About the respiratory infection, she noted, "He would be prone to any infection now because of the lack of food."

Without transportation, Ema and Gabino seldom came to the MAP office for help in buying food, even if they were hungry. They would simply wait until an overworked social worker came to visit. If a two-week supply of foodstamps really only lasted a week and a half, they went without food until the MAP social worker returned at the end of the second week to help them buy more foodstamps.

Once when a social worker took Ema to the courthouse to buy a new supply of foodstamps, Ema told her that they had run out of substantial food three days previously. All they had in the house was strained baby food which she and the children had been eating for three days, unsupplemented by even milk.

During the two-month period that the family lived in Iowa and were eligible for aid through the MAP health project, family members were seen by physicians 17 times. During the entire year, the average family of four migrants sees a physician five and a half times while they are in Iowa.

VIII. STATISTICS: HOSPITALIZATIONS

Table VIII
Hospitalizations Among Emergency Food Recipients and Non-recipients

Age	Entering Diagnosis	Length of Stay (Days)
New Born	Delivery	2
18 Years	Pregnancy at term-Delivery	3
New Born	Delivery	4
15 Years	Pregnancy at term-Delivery	5
New Born	Delivery	5
18 Years	Pregnancy at term-Delivery	5
16 Years	Pyelitis of Pregnancy	6
7½ Months	Anemia, iron deficiency, acute upper respiratory infection	6
9 Months	Anemia, Iron deficiency, bronchitis	1
5½ Months	Bronchiolitis	11
3½ Months	Otitis Media, bronchitis	11
2 Weeks	Trush, upper respiratory infection, diaper dermatitis	7
5 Months	Acute pharyngitis	5
7 Months	Croup	7
20 Years	Hyperthyroid T & A	3
4 Years	Hyperthyroid T & A, serious otitis, media bilateral myringotomy	
6 Years	T & A	2
13 Years	Hyperthyroid T & A	2
40 Years	Uterine Prolapse with urinary incontinence, cypto rectocile-vaginal hystererectomy with AP repair	9
NON-RECIPIENTS		
21 Years	Pregnancy at term, false labor	1
50 Years	Ventral hernia	6

Study of hospitalizations shows a marked difference in care received by emergency food recipients and non-recipients. Nineteen of the 21 hospitalizations occurring during the four-month period studied were for food recipients, when mothers and new-born infants are counted as separate hospitalizations (when mothers and infants are counted as one hospitalization, 16 of 18 hospitalizations were among recipients of emergency food).

Table IX
Ranking of Hospital Admitting Diagnoses Among Food Recipients

Diagnosis	Number
1. Delivery (Mother & child counted separately)	6
2. Bronchitis, pharyngitis, respiratory ailments	5
3. Tronsilectomy & related operations	4
4. Anemia, Iron Deficiency	2*
5. Complication of Pregnancy	1
6. Hysterectomy	1

*Also included in diagnosis No. 2

Table X
Ranking of Hospital Admitting Diagnosis Among Non-recipients

Diagnosis	Number
1. False labor	1
2. 2. Ventral hernia	1

A study of age groupings and lengths of stays of those hospitalized also shows interesting comparisons.

Table XI
Age of Hospitalized Migrants

Age	Number Recipients	Number Non-recipients
Less than one year	10	0
1-13 years	3	0
15 or more years	6	2

Table XII
Average Lengths of Hospitalizations

Recipients	5 days
Non-recipients	3½ days

Among recipients, almost one-half hospitalizations were for infants under one-year of age. Except for newborns, hospitalized at time of delivery, all infant hospitalizations involved types of throat or respiratory infection, and two of these were complicated by anemia. All hospitalizations for children between one and thirteen years of age received both tonsillectomies and adenoidectomies.

—From CHILD OF HOPE.

CHAPTER IX - WISCONSIN STUDY

Early in the spring of 1969, the Migrant Research Project approached the Wisconsin State Department of Health and Social Services to determine if it would be feasible to conduct a joint project aimed at studying the delivery of food distribution programs to agricultural migrant workers in Wisconsin.

As a result of a comparative study of food distribution made by the Migrant Research Project in 18 counties of 10 states, it was hoped an in-depth study of food distribution in one state would enable the two agencies to determine those conditions which must be present if migrants are to receive welfare assistance from public agencies.

Following is a synopsis of the submitted report. The complete and official report of the Wisconsin Project is still awaiting final approval of the Wisconsin State Department of Health and Social Services.

The demonstration was conducted in six central counties in Wisconsin: Adams, Columbia, and Marquette for food stamps; Portage and Waushara for commodities; and Green Lake with no food distribution program. Approximately 7,125[38] members of migrant families were in this area at some time during the project period.

Goals

1. The provision of emergency and supplementary food to needy families in the migrant stream during the project period.
2. The development of a system which would make food and other related services readily available to needy migrant families.
3. Public interpretation and education in demonstration communities on the needs of children and families disadvantaged by migrancy.
4. Liaison between disadvantaged minority groups and community agencies and resources to meet their needs.

Methodology

The Migrant Research Project contracted with United Migrant Opportunity Services on a statewide level and with the Migrant Health Clinics in Endeavor and Wautoma to provide outreach services to migrant families, interpret programs, make referrals to county agencies, and administer the Emergency Food Program. The MRP provided funds for purchase of emergency food and for selective program modifications to the private, non-profit agencies. The Migrant Research Project funded agencies gathered data on wages, demography and availability of services which were sent to Migrant Research Project. MRP and DFS evaluated the findings and shared them with USDA. Migrant Research Project participated in modifications of programs developed during the season and in the final evaluation and proposals for change in the delivery system at the federal, state and county level.

The State Department of Public Instruction participated in the modification of the commodity distribution programs, especially in Dodge County, a control county, and Waushara and Portage in the demonstration counties.

Reports were submitted to Migrant Research Project by the Migrant Health Clinics and United Migrant Opportunity Services which Migrant Research Project compiled for this report and used in its compilation of data on migrants on a national basis. County Departments of Social Services submitted written reports and made their records available to the project.

Barriers to the Provision of Emergency and Surplus Foods:

A careful analysis of reports submitted by the United Migrant Opportunity Services, Inc., the Wautoma Migrant Health Clinic and the Endeavor Migrant Health Clinic, and written communications, reports, and verbal conversations with county and state welfare officials in the State of Wisconsin by the Migrant Research Project show there are definite administrative, regulatory, and emotional barriers which effectively diminish the numbers of migrants who benefit from welfare programs. These may be summarized as follows:

Emotional Barriers

1. Negative feelings of community members.
2. Food stamps not always spent in counties where purchased; thus, not adding to the economy of the county where income is earned.
3. Lack of knowledge on the part of migrants about the food stamp program.
4. Lack of communication between welfare agencies and migrant camps; between welfare agencies and growers; between growers and migrants; between migrant and welfare agencies; and between migrant families within a camp. No Spanish-speaking permanent staff in welfare office.
5. Lack of understanding in welfare agencies concerning how and why migrants enter the area—including organizational structure of the process by which migrant labor is recruited, utilized, reimbursed, and adds to the economy of the user area.
6. Lack of community concern—community does not acknowledge presence of migrants "because they are from Texas, should be cared for by Texas" attitude which may be shared by the welfare agency representatives.
7. Migrants may be reluctant to approach welfare departments because of previous negative experience elsewhere.

Regulatory Barriers

8. Preceeding months' income, as well as projected income figures are unrealistic basis for determining eligibility. County officials recommended the following aternatives:
   a. average monthly income over a year.
   b. estimate **actual** income for the month of application based on apparent weather, illness, etc., which will hinder the earning power.
   c. estimate seasonal earnings in the area and average this figure over the area's season. (Not to be used exclusively—agency must be allowed flexibility in determining budget method most helpful to migrant.)
   d. national certification process for migrants.
9. Counties have little or no time and budget to plan prior to arrival of the migrants. Migrant agencies have program responsibilities for their own funding sources and do not have sufficient staff to effectively provide referral services for migrants needing welfare assistance.

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(38)—Wisconsin State Employment Service, Farm Labor Data.

10. Formula for determining hardship deductions is unrealistic for migrants who have additional work-related expenses.
11. Training programs for officials who have responsibility for implementation of programs not required nor planned for.
12. Income verification for a worker who has many employers and rarely receives pay stubs is almost impossible; certification for 30 days based on presumption of eligibility would be possible solution.
13. Requirements varied from county to county.

Budgetary Barriers

In Wisconsin, each county participating in a food program expends funds according to the guidelines, determines the federal share of the cost of the program and bills the state for part of the non-federal share. The amount of reimbursement of the county by the state for the non-federal share in project counties is as follows:

Columbia	45%	Waushara	50%
Portage	45%	Adams	50%
Green Lake	45%	Marquette	50%

Thus, it is conceivable that there may be some cost to the counties for food programs. This is particularly true in the commodity programs where counties bear the cost of transportation of food from depots to the county.

The State of Wisconsin has limited funds for temporary employees but counties do not have this in their budgets. In order to more adequately meet the needs of temporary Wisconsin migrant residents, counties must have sufficient funds available to allow them to employ Spanish-speaking outreach workers during the planning, migrant, and evaluation periods. Outreach personnel to work in the camps taking applications and certifying families for food programs would greatly increase the numbers of workers who are eligible but currently unable to participate for a variety of reasons.

Legislative Barriers

Most of the county welfare officials involved in the special project felt that no person in Wisconsin was denied food stamps because of the lack of funds. In their estimation, the no-income family was not a problem because the county underwrote the cost of needed food assistance when special emergency food funds were not utilized. However, all agreed that no survey was conducted nor outreach case workers employed to determine the real need for such assistance. Community attitudes tended to discourage any effective outreach casework.

The officials were unamous, however, in the need they felt for uniform standards for federal assistance programs. Without such standards effectively budgeted and enforced, the officials felt little would or could be done to further assist migrant workers to participate in programs.

However, it also must be noted that the emphasis placed on migrant participating counties in Wisconsin during the summer of 1969, coupled with the additional funds made available by the Migrant Research Project, resulted in an all-time high migrant participation in food programs in Wisconsin.

Conclusions:

The Wisconsin demonstration food project did not in all instances, meet the specific goals outlined at its beginning. Sufficient valuable information was gathered and procedural methods tested however to enable alternative methods for greater migrant participation in welfare programs to be suggested.

Careful analysis of the problems of migrancy—both to the workers and to communities utilizing the services for the community's economic life—must be related to the abiilty of government and private agencies to accomodate such workers to the benefits of community life.

Of necessity, this requires an extraordinary amount of coordination of services and goals between such agencies. The accomplishment of such coordination can only be achieved with careful planning of goals, staffing patterns, and resources of the entire community. Of extreme importance is the attitude of community leaders.

The earning pattern of the agricultural worker is a major obstacle in attempting to meet his need for assistance programs which are based on income as a factor of eligibility. The Wisconsin project was able to provide for limited modifications in the food stamp program and greater modifications of the commodity distribution program. Even so, only a small percentage of the Wisconsin migrant population was able to be served.

Based upon the 1969 Wisconsin summer food project and the difficulties encountered, it is the recommendation of the Migrant Research Project, that the United States Congress enact legislation to ensure equal benefits of welfare asistance to all its citizens. It is further the recommendation that this be accomplished by the enactment of uniform standards of eligibility and benefits for all federally assisted programs in all states.

The development of realistic standards for migrant participation in welfare assistance plans will ensure more adequate benefits for migrants. It will not, however, solve the total problem. The life style and employment cycle of a migrant ensures that he will be a stranger in communities where be abides. He is rarely, if ever, drawn into the heart of community living and absorbed by its functions.

If a larger number of needy migrants are to be assisted, provision must be made to bring about this absorption. It was the conclusion of the Wisconsin project that this must be accomplished through a well planned outreach program by welfare agencies. In those counties where provision for outreach was made in 1969, startling increases in food benefits for needy migrants occurred. County welfare offices in Wisconsin normally do not have sufficient staff to provide good casework for migrant workers; nor have they considered it their responsibility to do so. **Budgets**, do not allow funds for such work to be done. It is necessary for the federal government: 1) to provide sufficient funds in migrant impacted areas to allow local welfare offices to hire bi-lingual outreach workers to ensure services to needy migrants, and 2) to insist that they be served. Training should be provided welfare staff to allow social workers to learn about the needs, abilities and culture of the migrants. This can best be taught by the migrants themselves. In addition the training done by the migrants would open job opportunities for them and allow them to receive training as well as teach. MRP believes such training and job opportunities should be developed.

In retrospect, it must be said that the 1969 Special Wisconsin Project was valuable. It demonstrated that under the laws as presently administered, desire nor concerted effort on the part of the state and local officials is sufficient to allow migrants to participate in the welfare assistance programs. Emotional, legislative and budgetary barriers must be removed before this goal can be attained.

PART II - ACTION PROGRAMS

CHAPTER X - LEGAL PROGRAMS

Background

In its original concept, the Migrant Research Project was conceived in two parts: one a study of demographic and social characteristics of migrant workers; and the other, research of legal redress of grievances in order to provide technical assistance to migrants and those agencies concerned with seeking such redress through the courts. Research of laws was undertaken to determine what avenues of relief existed in order to advise grantees where existing laws provided protection to migrant workers. The project was limited to acting as "co-counsel" in any legal action undertaken. In addition, any class action entered into by MRP required prior approval of the legal advisory board.

During the first six months of 1970, MRP was pressed to move directly into the field of legal advocacy. Because of this certain litigation was undertaken. This included: access cases in Iowa and Michigan; a minimum wage suit in New Bern, North Carolina; petitioning the Michigan Health Department to institute corrective reforms in administering its housing code; cooperating with the Colorado Legal Services in a broad range of activities under the Sugar Act of 1948; petitioning the United States Department of Agriculture, on behalf of "La Trienda Campesina" for authorization to redeem food stamps purchased in other areas of the country despite the fact that "La Teinda Campesina" was located in a Commodity Distribution County. In addition, legal staff of MRP arranged for and provided training for law students in two different areas of the country.

Delegation of Legal Advocacy Responsibilities

Following these initial steps it became increasingly clear that if the research design was to continue in its aim of developing hard data on which change could be accomplished by government agencies, and if the legal advocacy portion of the project was to continue to force change in government programs, the two sections of the agency must no longer be interdependent. MEDI therefore made arrangemnts to sub-contract the legal advocacy section of the program to another agency so that the research portion of the Migrant Research Project could continue unhampered.

The cases described above were transferred to the newly formed Migrant Legal Action Program and have been reported by them.

Petition for Review - 2, 4, 5, T Case

Pesticides and herbicides are poisonous substances manufactured to destroy plant and animal life. They are widely used by the farming and forestry industries and are known as "economic poisons."

In recent years our nation has become acutely aware of pollution in all forms and its effect on human life. A part of this concern is a better understanding of the effects on the environment of pesticides and herbicides. There is a growing public attitude that pesticides and herbicides need to be much more carefully controlled than they have been in the past.

Regulation of pesticides presently rests with the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Department of the Interior. An interdepartmental committee on pesticides has been established to reach joint determinations in connection with the regulation of pesticides.

While HEW, through the Food and Drug Administration, has authority to set standards for allowable tolerances on food crops of residues of pesticides on public lands, United States Department of Agriculture's role is most important. USDA controls the registration of pesticides and the suspension and cancellation of registration of pesticides under the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodentricide Act. (FIFRA)

Regulation of pesticides under FIFRA is confined, within the Department of Agriculture, to the Pesticide Regulation Division (PRD) which in turn is part of the Agricultural Research Service (ARS). PRD is a small agency. It coexists within the USDA with other agencies that are users and promoters of the use of pesticides and herbicides on a large scale.

The Migrant Research Project jointed with 6 other individuals and/or agencies on October 12, 1970 to petition Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture to issue an order for immediate suspension of the use of 2, 4, 5,-T in all forms on food crops for human consumption, and in areas of likely exposure to humans.

Others joining MRP in this petition were Harrison Wellford, Lorraine Huber, Judith Edes, the Children's Foundation, Friends of the Earth, and the Environmental Action and the Consumer's Union.

The petition was based on the prior decision of the Secretary that there existed no imminent hazard requiring immediate suspension of the use of 2, 4, 5,-T on food crops for human consumption and in non-liquid formulations around the home and in recreation areas. At the same time, however, the Secretary ruled there did exist an imminent hazard requiring the suspension of the use of 2, 4, 5,-T in liquid formulations around the home and for use in waterways. It was the contention of the petitioners that the secretary's action was "arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion, and without any rational basis."

2, 4, 5-T Herbicide

The chemical, 2, 4, 5,-T is a highly toxic herbicide used as a weed-killer, domestically and as a defoliant by the armed forces. It has been demonstrated to cause birth defects in the foetus of test animals.

As a weedkiller, 2, 4, 5,-T is taken into plant metabolism and causes the plant literally to explode in growth, thereby destroying it. It is used to control weeds and brush on rights-of-way, farms and forests. Its principal agricultural use is in the production of fruit, cereal grains and sugar cane.

The toxic effects of 2, 4, 5,-T to human beings has been suspected for some time. Workers in manufacturing plants where 2, 4, 5,-T was produced had contracted a skin and liver disease, chloracne. The extensive use of 2, 4, 5,-T as a defoliant in Southeast Asia has led to reports of serious effects on animals and humans.

Of overwhelming importance, however, was a secret report transmitted by the Bionetics Laboratory in 1964 to the National Cancer Institute. The report cited possible birth defects in humans caused by exposure to 2, 4, 5,-T.

The report was interim, however, and testing was continued through 1968 when the final results were transmitted to the Food and Drug Administration. Still the results were kept secret.

The report was not made public until February 1969, when a student conducting an investigation of the Food and Drug Administration turned the report over to a geneticist at Harvard University. However, it was not until September of 1969 that HEW commission appointed to study "Pesticides and Their Relationship to Environmental Health" was able to secure a copy of the report. The commission investigated the report and concluded that 2, 4, 5,-T did indeed cause abnormalities in unborn fetus and "should be restricted to prevent risk of human exposure."

In addition, the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences also conducted experiments on 2, 4, 5,-T and confirmed the dangers to humans from its use.

USDA refused to suspend 2, 4, 5,-T for use on food crops and for use around the home in non-liquid formulations. It also refused to issue Notices of Cancellation for uses of 2, 4, 5,-T except for home use and for use on food crops. MRP and the other petitioners pushed for an immediate suspension order for use of 2, 4, 5,-T on food crops since cancellation proceedings are lengthy and not at all certain because of enforcement difficulties.

In regard to 2, 4, 5,-T, HEW refused to establish any tolerances for the herbicide in response to a petition to establish such a tolerance. This amounted to a judgment by HEW that no amount of 2, 4, 5,-T can be considered safe for human ingestions.

The reason given by USDA for its refusal was they did not consider a hazard to be "imminent" when the food on which the pesticide is sprayed may not be eaten until after it is harvested weeks or months later — no matter how dangerous the substance may be when eaten!

However, USDA suspended the use of 2, 4, 5,-T in the home, acknowledging the overwhelming evidence of the danger of 2, 4, 5,-T. But in the words of William A. Dobrovir the able attorney representing the petitioners before the Senate Sub-committee on Energy, Natural Resources, and the Environment, USDA "declined to offend both the farm industry, by refusing to suspend for use on food crops, and the chemical industry, by refusing even to begin cancellation proceedings for use for bush control.

On June 17, 1970 the Pesticide Regulation Division of USDA denied the petition in all respects. However, the next day the Secretary of the Interior, exercising his authority over the management of public lands, banned the use of 2, 4, 5,-T on all lands managed by the Department of the Interior.

The petitioners thereupon filed their petition, together with a Motion for Summary Reversal on the grounds that the definition of "imminent hazard language" followed by the Department of Agriculture was clearly in error.

The Court denied the Motion for Summary Reversal but ordered USDA to file within 30 days a statement of the reasons for its decision and materials in support of those reasons.

In a decision handed down on January 7, 1971, Judge David Bazelon for the Circuit of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, instructed the new Environmental Protection Agency to reconsider the Secretary of Agriculture's decision not to suspend immediately the use of the herbicide 2, 4, 5,-T on food crops.

In his decision, Judge Bazelon stated:

"We are troubled by the possibility that the Secretary failed to give petitioner's allegations the careful consideration to which they were entitled or that he failed to assign sufficient importance to the risk of harm to human lives." The decision goes on to note the Secretary did not "discuss the risk of injury to farm workers or others who might be exposed to the chemical by virtue of its use on food crops, despite the fact that he clearly recognized a hazard from direct exposure, as well as consumption with food and water." The Secretary of Agriculture's authority over pesticides has not been transferred to the New Environmental Protection Agency. The Court remands the case to the new Agency and requests a decision supported by reasonable analysis of the relevant factors. The Court noted: "We think this course is especially appropriate in view of the fact that we are venturing into a new and unchartered area of the law and new public sensitivity to issues of environmental protection has imposed new responsibilities on the Courts, the legislature and the administrative agencies."

In March, 1971, the Environmental Protection Agency ruled that these known hazards of DDT and 2, 4, 5,-T do not justify a total ban on their use at the present time.

EPA Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus announced the agency had ordered a review of the health hazards of the two products that could conceivably take as long as a year and a half! Mr. Ruckelshaus declined to use his authority to declare the chemicals "an imminent hazard to public health." In spite of the considerable evidence to support such a decision, EPA could find "no justification for such a prohibition." MRP believes there is such justification.

The action taken by Mr. Ruckelshaus and EPA at the time of this writing means the present use of these dangerous chemicals can continue while a scientific advisory committee makes a new study and public hearings are held to determine if the products should be banned from interstate commerce.

In entering this case, the Migrant Research Project felt strongly that the Secretary of Agriculture had altogether ignored the serious exposure problem of migratory workers. Migrants engage in spraying herbicides and pesticides. They and their children are exposed to residues while working in soil preparation and harvesting ground and tree crops. Pregnant women work alongside their husbands. Moreover, their homes are exposed to drifting soil and dust.

In 1967, there were 94 farm worker injuries from pesticides reported in one California county alone.

Cesar Chavez, head of United Farm Workers Organizing Committee testified that 80% of farm workers interviewed by the Public Health Service reported symptoms of pesticide poisoning.

Migrant Research Project, conscious of the powerlessness of the migrant, believed that its role in the pursuit of this case might have brought a life free of birth defects to countless numbers of future American born migrant children. A chance to be born is little enough. The Environmental Protection Agency ruled differently.

The Department of Agriculture failed to perform its duty to prevent damage to the environment and to people by harmful pesticides. It has too often regarded the farming and chemical industries as its primary constituency and approved for general use pesticides which create unnecessary risks for human and environmental health. Justice demands a different decision!

CHAPTER XI - FOOD DISTRIBUTION PROJECT

From Child of Hope

"Is hope for us?"

During the current grant year—October 1, 1969 to June 30, 1971—the MRP contracted with 43 migrant oriented, indigenous group, or public agencies, to supply Office of Economic Opportunity Emergency Food and Medical Services money to needy migrant workers who qualified for such assistance. In addition to the 43 grantees, MRP hired its own staff of outreach workers to assist hungry migrants in need of emergency food assistance through: 1) referring them to the responsible public agencies, 2) allowing them to order food from grocery stores at MRP expense, or 3) providing them with food purchased in wholesale lots.

The amount of money spent for food in both types of programs totaled $341,838. Food was provided to 7,934 families composed of 48,611 individuals. The average cost per person was $7.03. Duration of the emergencies was from 3 to 30 days with the average being approximately 12 days.

A study of the report submitted by the sub-contractors to the Migrant Research Project suggests that **too infrequently do migrant-oriented programs communicate with the public agencies responsible for distributing food to hungry migrants.** Entirely too often they develop a credit system with grocery stores for direct purchase of food by the migrants. In at least three instances MRP had to threaten cancellation of sub-contracts and suggest direct MRP negotiation with the public officials before the sub-contractor would refer migrants to the food stamp office. **In each instance, the food stamp office found the migrants so referred eligible for its service and the migrants were able to purchase food stamps.**

It has been the philosophy of MRP that its emergency food monies was not only to feed people facing emergencies, but also to assist both the beneficiaries and the public agencies to utilize existing programs for needed services. The migrants first had to learn about the agencies and secondly, overcome their fear of the agencies. The agencies had to learn about the numbers and needs of the migrants to assist the local communities to better plan necesary services for them.

It was, and is, MRP's contention that when communities fully understand the problems created for migrants and costs to these communities because of both too early and over-recruitment of workers, more realistic total planning will occur at the community level. If the early and over-recruitment of workers only brings more money into the area—an independent group buying food directly from local stores—no change will be made.

On the plus side of direct purchase of foods—and an action strongly urged by MRP to sub-contractors—was direct purchase through the voucher system, at nights, on week-ends or at times during the month when many food stamp offices were not open. **MRP, also, urged, and sub-contractors did, use direct purchase to supplement nutritional needs when the stamps were insufficient to last until the next scheduled purchase date. MRP also urged direct purchase when the number of trips required or the distance to the purchasing office was too great, and the public agencies refused to change their schedule to meet the needs of the migrants.** In some instances these problems were insurmountable for the migrant oriented sub-contractors.

In other areas negotiations between MRP sub-contractors and public agencies brought about substantial changes.

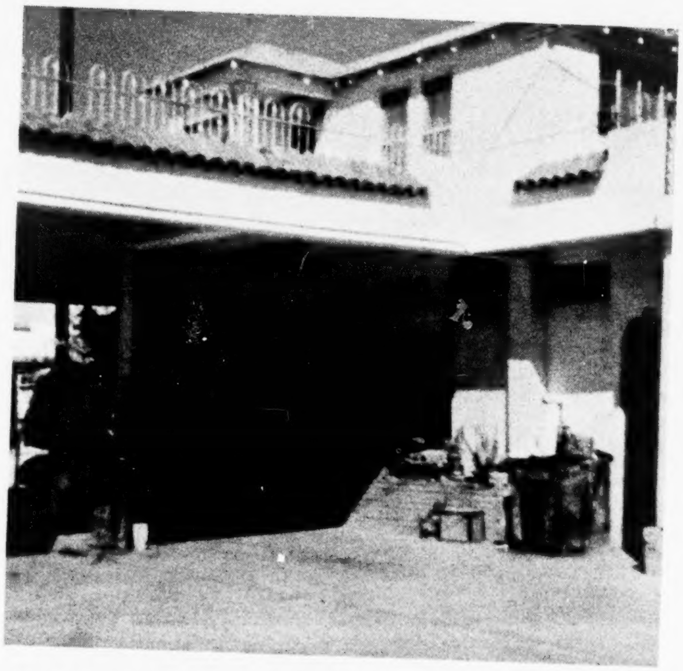
One sub-contractor, an indigenous group, shared the information gained from the project with members of the state legislature. This enabled the legislature to pass beneficial legislation which required a school lunch program to be initated in all school districts impacted by migrants at various times of the year. The consumer cooperative, owned by the group was certified to redeem food stamps which increased membership in the coop by one-half and the inventory by one-third. The result of these successful activities allowed the organization to expand into a large stable group in the community and then, become a responsible source for staff training and information to public and private agencies planning economic and social programs for migrants.

Another indigenous group sub-contractor utilized the food money to assist owners of small grocery stores—all minority group members—to merge into a buying cooperative and thus become competitive on prices of food with the "downtown" chains. Economic development was thus brought into the rural area through use of available funds. Such planning on the part of local communities must be encouraged by all government agencies if full use of the tax-payers dollar is to be achieved.

The first grant of money made by MRP in the 1969-1970 program year was to Governor Robert D. Ray of Iowa for the Migrant Action Program, Inc. The grant was made subsequent to the state of Iowa declaring certain portions of the state disaster areas both for farm owners and farm workers following severe weather conditions in the state. Because of the Governor's intervention, the USDA allowed the state to issue food stamps to migrants at minimum rates until conditions became such that the migrants could work at the normal level.

Governor Robert D. Ray, Iowa

Of special interest was a grant made by MRP in the Bootheel of Missouri to the Bootheel Agricultural Service, Inc. This particular grant was to assist the producer's cooperative to hire technical assistance, as well as labor, to raise and market vegetable crops. One of the customers for the surplus of the crops was the USDA which used the purchases for Commodity Distribution.



Retail Outlet Used by MRP Grantee in Laredo, Texas

CHAPTER XII - TRAINING PROGRAMS

MRP conducted two major training programs. One was held in Washington, D.C. in conjunction with the research training program. Dr. Frances Cousens, University of Michigan, discussed in detail the research methodology and design, including purpose of study, interviewing techniques, importance of accurately recording responses and what the final analyses and report was to contain. MRP staff discussed each question. The purpose of the conference was to train those people in the agencies who would train interviewers when they returned home. Each agency was furnished kits containing a training manual, objectives of the program and sets of the research instruments.

In addition, MRP staff discussed the goals and objectives of the food distribution program, the newly developed accounting procedures, and the voucher system. The accounting procedures were developed with the assistance of a CPA who had experience working with migrants and the food program. The system developed, available from MRP, contains an automatic self-audit and can be used readily by people with little or no knowledge of bookkeeping.

MRP had first tried the accounting system in December of 1969 when 40 migrants were employed as outreach workers. The training session lasted for one week. The outreach workers, under the immediate supervision of the President of Colonias Del Valle, Reynaldo de la Cruz, were taught:

(1) How to negotiate contracts between MRP and retail outlet grocery stores who would agree to supply migrants presenting MRP vouchers with stated amounts of food. In addition, the group received sufficient training to enable them to train management of these retail outlets in the proper method of submitting vouchers to MRP each month for payment.

(2) How to make out vouchers as a purchase order for food, keep their own records, check the bills submitted by the grocers and finally, submit the carbon copy of the vouchers to MRP for payment.

(3) How to identify and serve eligible hungry migrants.

(4) How to determine the amount of money needed by the family—maximum of $1.00 per day per family member, and,

(5) How to use the simplified accounting system.

Based on the success of this training program, MRP is convinced that paraprofessionals can be so trained for jobs with public and private agencies that they can perform functionally while, at the same time, retaining their own identity and culture. At the request of HEW an outline of this procedure has been submitted to them for consideration in national programming.

Additional Activities

MRP has submitted testimony before various committees of the U.S. Congress and state legislatures to assist them in developing a body of knowledge on which legislation can be based. The organization has also acted as a free-of-cost consultant to government agencies at the federal, state and local level in assisting them to understand problems and needs of people and methods which could be employed to serve them.

MRP, also funded agencies—both those who contracted to utilize MRP food money and those who did not—to hire outreach workers to identify and serve hungry migrants.

Illinois Housing Study

In July, 1970 the Illinois Migrant Council, a grantee agency of MRP emergency food program requested assistance in the development of a research project intended to evaluate:

a) compliance or non-compliance with state CFR Title 2, Chapter V, Part 620 where applicable;

b) compliance or non-compliance with the Illinois Migrant Labor Camp Law and the Rules and Regulations for Migrant Labor Camps promulgated therunder, where applicable; and,

c) the nature and condition of migrant labor camps subject to neither state nor federal regulations, using as guidelines for evaluation the standards of both Part 620 and the Illinois Law and Rules.

The study was undertaken under the joint auspices of the Spanish Speaking Peoples Study Commission and the Governor's Office of Human Resources in Conjunction with the Illinois Department of Public Health.

The survey design was based upon the methodology and questionnaire developed for the Michigan Housing Study by MRP in the summer of 1969 and reported in last year's Annual Report.

Survey field work was done by teams of IMC employees and Community Action Program employees throughout Illinois. Statistical compilation of the survey was the responsibility of the Illinois Migrant Council.

It was planned to conduct 148 inspections utilizing two forms. Form A was used by the interviewer to ascertain the overall condition of facilities at the camps. Form B was used to gather information about the separate dwellings within camps. Together forms A and B utilized over 90% of the questions asked in MRP Michigan Housing Survey.

The writing of the final report of the project was the responsibility of the Office of the Governor, Spanish Speaking People's Study Commission and the Illinois Migrant Council. Although not available at the writing of this report, a copy can later be secured by writing directly to any of the sponsoring agencies. MRP was pleased to have assisted with the development of this special project.

MIGRANT RESEARCH PROJECT GRANTEE AGENCIES

Food Contracts

Migrant Opportunity Program 1515 S. Black Canyon Highway Phoenix, Arizona	$18,794.31
Stanislaus County Community Action Commission, Inc. 1317 Eye Street Modesto, California 95354	10,341.94
Monterey County Anti-Poverty Coordinating Council 153 Gablion Street Salinas, California	8,803.50
Emergency Food and Medical Stockton, California	3,000.00
Colorado Migrant Council 665 Grant Denver, Colorado 80206	1,994.50
Migrants in Action, Inc. (changed to:) Farm Workers United, Inc. 812 Harrison Avenue Fort Lupton, Colorado	2,000.00
Florida Rural Legal Service 1539 Hammondsville Rd. Pomgano Beach, Florida 33060 P.O. Box 184	3,987.00
Belle Glade Citizen's Association 132 S.W. Avenue "B" Belle Glade, Florida 33430	9,000.00
Lake County Economic Opportunity, Inc Community Action Program 1224 Hazzard Avenue P.O. Box 687 Eustis, Florida 32726	324.25
Community Action Migrant Program, Inc. 3521 W. Broward Blvd., Suite 10 Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33312	14,201.65
Organized Migrants In Community Action P.O. Box 1351 Homestead, Florida	4,000.00
Illinois Migrant Council 1307 S. Wabash Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60605	7,860.10
Associated Migrant Opportunity Services 806 E. 38th Street Indianapolis, Indiana 46205	8,076.10
Migrant Action Program P.O. Box 717 Mason City, Iowa 50401	12,291.19
Blue Grass Community Action Agency Lawrenceburg, Kentucky	449.78
United Farm Workers 8603 S. Dixie Erie, Michigan	427.88
United Migrants for Opportunity, Inc. 111 S. Lansing Street P.O. Box 324 Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48858	13,995.25
Churches United for Mexicans 122 West Franklin Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404	2,211.49
State of Minnesota Title I—ESEA Minnesota State Commissioner of Education Department of Education Centennial Office Building St. Paul, Minnesota	1,520.10
Catholic Charities 275 Harriett Street Winona, Minnesota	1,120.98
Delta Opportunities Corp. P. O. Box 478 Greenville, Mississippi	10,000.00
Friends of Children of Mississippi 904 West Capitol Street Jackson, Mississippi 39201	10,000.00
Mileston Co-operative P. O. Box 184 Lexington, Mississippi 39095	2,000.00
Bootheel Agricultural Service, Inc. P.O. Box 223 Haiti, Missouri	7,500.00
SCOPE Camden, New Jersey	
Wayne County Community Action Program Wayne County Courthouse Lyons, New York	1,000.00
Seasonal Employees in Agriculture 129 Peconic Avenue Riverhead, New York 11901	381.89
Home Education Livelihood Program 933 San Pedro, S.E. Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108	1,998.75
Catholic Better Community Development Commission, Inc. 1601 Jefferson Avenue Toledo, Ohio 43264	
Southwest Oklahoma Community Action Group, Inc. P.O. Box 811 Altus, Oklahoma	6,244.38
Treasure Valley Migrant Programs Migrant Education Program 650 College Boulevard Ontario, Oregon	4,997.05
Citizens in Action Club, Inc. P.O. Box 397 Asherton, Texas 78827	921.97
Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Austin 2501 North Lamar Austin, Texas	7,994.45
Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Brownsville P.O. 2279 Brownsville, Texas	19,964.03
Maverick County Eagle Pass, Texas	5,000.00
Laredo Community Action Agency 1104 Salinas P.O. Box 736 Laredo, Texas 78400	22,471.37

Laredo-Webb County Community Action Commission 1104 Salinas Laredo, Texas 78400	4,968.59
Migrants In Action 2306 San Enrique Avenue Laredo, Texas 78040	2,000.00
Migrant Research Project Outreach P.O. Box 907 San Juan, Texas 78589	27,986.74
Lynn County Community Development Committee, Inc. 4th Street & Avenue "M" P.O. Box 671 Tahoka, Texas	26,050.00
Utah Migrant Council 225 West South Temple Salt Lake City, Utah	4,969.51
Grant County Community Action Agency P.O. Box 1136 Ephrata, Washington 98823	2,805.71
Northwest Rural Opportunities 624 N. Adams Pasco, Washington 99301	9,640.92
Washington State Council of Churches 2005 Fifth Avenue, Room 210 Seattle, Washington 98121	4,405.00
United Farm Workers P.O. Box 655 Toppenish, Washington	25,000.00
United Migrant Opportunity Service 800 W. Greenfield Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204	8,992.55

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***Migrant Research Project**